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KURUKSETRA

IN THE VĀMANA PURĀṆA

SASANKA SEKHAR PARUI



PUNTHI PUSTAK

Calcutta

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IN THE VAMANA PURANA



S. S. PARUI

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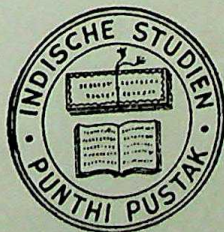
IN THE VĀMANA PURĀNA
KURUKṢETRA

KURUKSETRA

IN THE VAMANA PURĀṆA

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With a Foreword by
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Calcutta

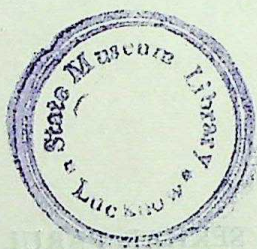
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THIS

MONOGRAPH

is dedicated to my teachers
whose love and affection
are the never-failing source of inspiration
for me.

FOREWORD

The conception of holiness attached to certain places, rivers, confluences, etc., and the importance of such tīrthas in the socio-religious life of the Indian people appear to be of pre-Aryan origin ; but they belong to the group of ideas borrowed very early by the Indo-Aryans with the gradual absorption of Nonaryan blood even as early as the days of the later hymns of the Ṛgveda (cf. Sircar, *Stud. Geog.*, 1971, p. 287). It is well known that Baudhāyana (Dh. S., 1.2.14-16) regards the Avantīs, Aṅgas, Magadhas, Surāṣṭras, Dakṣiṇāpathas, Sauvīras and others as Saṅkīrṇa-yoni (i.e., with an admixture of Aryan and Nonaryan blood in the vein) and prescribes expiation for visiting the land of peoples such as the Āraṭṭas Puṇḍras, Sauvīras, Vaṅgas and Kaliṅgas ; we also know that an oft-quoted Purāṇic verse does not permit visits to the Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Saurāṣṭra and Magadha countries except for the purpose of pilgrimage (Sircar, *op.cit.*, p. 219, note 5).

There are thousands of holy places of various grades of sanctity and importance all over the Indian sub-continent. A well-known Purāṇic stanza, however, speaks of the following seven as the most important :— (1) Ayodhyā, (2) Mathurā, (3) Māyā (Haridvāra), (4) Kāśī, (5) Kāñcī, (6) Avantikā and (7) Dvārāvātīpurī (*ibid.*, p. 282) ; but some other equally important tīrthas are (1) Gaṅgāsāgara, (2) Virajā (whose importance was later shadowed by Purī), (3) Gayā, (4) Prayāga, (5) Puṣkara, (6) Prabhāsa, (7) Kurukṣetra, (8) Badarik-āśrama, (9) Setubandha-Rāmeśvara, and (10) Kanyākumārī. It is interesting that many of these holy places were situated in the lands inhabited by peoples stigmatized in the Vedic and Epico-Purāṇic writing. Thus Kāñcī, Setubandha and Kanyākumārī lay in the country of the Dakṣiṇāpathas, Dvārāvātī and Prabhāsa in that of

the Surāṣṭras or Saurāṣṭras, and Avantikā, Gaṅgāsāgara, Virajā and Kurukṣetra in the territories respectively of the Avantis, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas and Āraṭṭas, while Gayā and Badarikā belonged to the lands of the Kīkaṭas and Kirātas respectively.

While the Ṛgveda (II.14.16) mentions the Sarasvatī as 'the best among the goddesses', later Vedic literature regards Kurukṣetra in the Sarasvatī—Dṛṣadvatī valley as the holiest of places, though never as the field of the Kuru-Pāṇḍava war (Sircar, *Cosm. Geog.*, p. 18). The same tradition regarding the holiness of Kurukṣetra is noticed in the Mahābhārata (III. 83.204.05) and the Manusmṛti (II. 17-18) which regard the land between the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī as something like paradise on earth. The said tract is called Brahmāvarta by Manu who separately mentions Kurukṣetra (i.e. the territory of which Brahmāvarta formed a part), along with the Matsya, Pañcāla and Śūrasena countries, as forming Brahmarṣi-deśa which was second only to Brahmāvarta in sanctity (II. 19-20).

There is evidence to show that pious Indians of different parts of the sub-continent used to travel often even to very distant holy places of renown. Thus the Arab merchant Ma'sūdī (middle of the 10th century) says about the great Sun temple at Multan: "The inhabitants of Sind and India perform pilgrimages to it from the most distant places; they carry money, precious stones, aloe-wood and all sorts of perfumes there to fulfil their vows. The greatest part of the revenue of the king of Multan is derived from the rich presents, brought to the idol, of the pure aloe-wood of Kumār (Kāmrūn, i.e. Kāmarūpa or Assam), which is of the first quality and one Man of which is worth 200 Dīnārs" (Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 23). In the more or less primitive condition of travel before the introduction of railways in the nineteenth century, however, very few of the pilgrims travelling to tīrthas far away from their home succeeded in returning

alive. L. B. Day described the horrors of the pilgrims' journey only of a few hundred miles between Burdwan in West Bengal and Purī in Orissa, in his *Bengal Peasant Life* (1874), Chapters XXXV-XXXVI. It is therefore intelligible why the Kūrma Purāṇa (II. 44.23) says, "A person willing to go on pilgrimages should pay off the three debts, provide means of maintenance for his sons and consign his wife to their care."

The popularity of pilgrimage led to the growth of a vast literature on the tīrthas in Sanskrit even excluding the large number of māhātmyas on particular holy spots. There have also been a few modern studies on the subject. We are thankful to Dr. S. S. Parui for the present account of the great tīrtha of Kurukṣetra as known from the Epico-Purāṇic literature in general and the Vāmana Purāṇa in particular, to which a few sections on the religious, social and economic life of the holy tract have been added.

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PREFACE

This monograph offers a history of Kurukṣetra as found in ancient Indian literature particularly Purāṇic.

Originally a thesis, prepared under the guidance of Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar without whose constant encouragement it would not have been possible for me to complete the work, it was submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Calcutta University. I, therefore, like to take this opportunity of expressing my sincere gratitude and respect to my teacher Professor Sircar and the authorities of the University of Calcutta. One of its Chapters, namely, 'Rivers' appeared in the journal of All-India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi, entitled Purāṇa (Vol. XVII, No. 2, pp. 168-87). I am also grateful to the above Trust.

I am also indebted to Dr. Asim Kumar Chatterjee, Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, Dr. Sachindra Kumar Maity, Lecturer in History, Jadavpur University and Sri Sarbaribhushan Purkait, Warden-Secretary of the South Calcutta Day Students' Home (for Boys), for their valuable suggestions and necessary help. I am greatly indebted to my parents, Sri Nani Lal Parui and Sm. Bhagavati Parui and to my wife Sm. Niva Parui for their unstinted encouragement and help. My thanks are also due to the authorities of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta and Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University for giving me adequate library facilities. I also take this opportunity to acknowledge obligations to many other friends who occasionally helped me in various ways and also to Sri Sankar Bhattacharya of "PUNTHI PUSTAK" for publishing my book.

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Calcutta-700053,
May 25, 1976.

SASANKA SEKHAR PARUI

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

अ=a, आ=ā, इ=i, ई=ī, उ=u, ऊ=ū,

ऋ=r, ए=e, ऐ=ai, ओ=o, औ=au, *anusvāra*=m,

visarga=ḥ.

क=k, ख=kh, ग=g, घ=gh, ङ=ṅ, च=c,

छ=ch, ज=j, झ=jh, ञ=ñ, ट=t, ठ=ṭh,

ड=d, ढ=ḍh, ण=ṇ, त=t, थ=th, द=d,

ध=dh, न=n, प=p, फ=ph, ब=b, भ=bh,

म=m, य=y, र=r, ल=l, व=v, श=ś,

ष=ṣ, स=s, ह=h.

Samāsa is indicated by hyphen (-), *sandhi* by the sign of equals (=) and *avagraha* by '='.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
ASI	Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report.
CHI	Cambridge History of India.
Ep. Ind.	Epigraphia Indica.
GOS	Gaekwad's Oriental Series.
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
JAIH	Journal of Ancient Indian History.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Loc. cit.	Loco citato.
Mbh.	Mahābhārata.
Op.cit.	Opere citato.
PHAI	Political History of Ancient India.
PO	Poona Orientalist, Poona.
QJMS	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.
Śāk.	Śākta Piṭhas.
SBE	Sacred Books of the East.
Sm.	Saro-māhātmya.
Vmn.	Vāmana Purāṇa.

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MAP OF KURUKSETRA



SCALE IN MILES

[Prepared with the help of the maps of Kuruksetra (see ASI, Vol. XIV, Plate XXVI), the Punjab (see Census of India, 1961, Vol. XIII, Punjab, Part VII-B, Fairs and Festivals) and 'Punjab and Kashmir' (see the Reader's Digest Great World Atlas, p. 70). Deviations are there, specially in connection with the location of the forests. Modern place names are underlined.]

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

From the very remote past down to our age, the Kuru-tirtha founded by King Kuru and the region around it called Kurukṣetra are famous throughout India for its sacredness. The *Gītā* starts with dharma-kṣetre Kurukṣetre. It is the main centre of operation of the epic events. It is associated with the incarnations of Viṣṇu who came to this world with a view to establishing dharma, i.e., law and order. Here ruled legendary kings like Kuru, Pṛthu and Bali. Kuru was a benevolent ruler (kṣetra-pāla, paśu-pāla and prajā-pāla),¹ as well as a ṛṣi.² Pṛthu was not only the protector of the earth,³ but was as great as the incarnation of God. Bali, though a non-Aryan, was a follower of Brāhmaṇism and earned reputation for his good administration.

In the historical period this region came under the sway of the Maurya emperors. Thereafter it seems to have passed through the hands of the Greeks, Scythians, Kuṣāṇas, Guptas and Hūṇas. At the end of the 6th century A.D. Thanesar was the capital of Prabhākaravardhana. The most glorious days of Thanesar and the Kurukṣetra region were the first half of the seventh century A.D. when Harṣavardhana ruled there. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang paid a visit to it. Under the unfavourable circumstances during the Muslim period, Kurukṣetra had to suffer much. Sultan Maḥmūd of Gaznī destroyed the shrines of the Hindu gods and goddesses of the holy place and Sikandar Lodī⁴ and Aurangzeb are famous for their anti-Hindu policy. In spite of all these, the popularity of Kurukṣetra did not die out. Abul Fazl gives an account of pilgrimage to Kurukṣetra.⁵ During the ascendancy of

the Sikhs, the old shrines were restored and a large number of holy spots of the Sikhs developed in this region.

In spite of its greatness as a holy place, Kurukṣetra has so far not attracted the attention of the historians. Besides a few brief papers⁶ which casually note references relating to Kurukṣetra, the only papers entirely devoted to this topic are R. C. Agrawala's 'History and Archaeology of Kurukṣetra'⁷ and 'Kurukṣetra in Later Sanskrit Literature'.⁸

The present work is an attempt to deal with the religious and socio-economic life of Kurukṣetra in the epico-Purāṇic literature in general and in the Vāmana Purāṇa in particular. The work is divided into nine Chapters, viz., Introduction, Importance of the Purāṇa, Holy Kurukṣetra, Rivers, Forests, Dvārapālas, Holy Spots, Religious Life and Socio-Economic Life. A map of Kurukṣetra is also added. It is expected to be an exhaustive work on one of the greatest tīrthas of ancient India.

REFERENCES

- 1 Vmn., 23. 9—
sa eva kṣetra-pālo = 'bhūt paśu-pālaḥ sa eva hi |
sa sarva-pālakaś = c = āsīt prajā-pālo mahā-balaḥ ||
- 2 Ibid., Ch. 23.
- 3 Ibid., Sm. 26. 24—
pitṛā = 'parañjitā tasya tena sā paripālītā |
tatra rāj = eti śabdo = 'sya pṛthivyā rañjanād = abhūt ||
- 4 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 96.
- 5 H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, The History of India as told by its own Historians, First Indian ed., 1964, Vol. V, p. 318.
- 6 Purāṇa, Vol. III, pp. 142 ff. ; Vol. IV, pp. 10 ff. ; Vol. V, pp. 360 ff. ; Vol. VII, pp. 170-82.
- 7 IHQ, Vol. XXXII, pp. 15-35.
- 8 Ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 1-31.

Chapter II

IMPORTANCE OF THE PURĀṆA

There are two groups of Purāṇas, viz., Mahā-Purāṇa and Upa-Purāṇa. In two Purāṇic lists in the Bṛhaddharma¹ and Garuḍa,² the Vāmana Purāṇa is called an Upa-Purāṇa ; but in other lists, it is called a Mahā-Purāṇa and scholars³ have offered explanations for this variation. It is interesting that the Kūrma Purāṇa offers a list in which there were one Vāmana Mahā-Purāṇa and another Vāmana Upa-Purāṇa.⁴

The Vāmana Purāṇa that has come down to us consists of ninety-five⁵ or ninety-seven⁶ chapters. It is the only work of the post-epic literature, which gives a vivid account of Kurukṣetra and its holy spots. Kurukṣetra is described in three verses in the Agni Purāṇa,⁷ two chapters in the Nāradiya,⁸ two chapters in the Padma,⁹ ten verses in the Varāha,¹⁰ thirty-eight verses in the Brahmāṇḍa,¹¹ nine verses in the Brahma,¹² and a few chapters in the Skanda.¹³ On the other hand, one half of the Vāmana Purāṇa is dedicated to Kurukṣetra.¹⁴

Regarding the date of this Purāṇa, the scholars have different views. According to H. P. Shastri,¹⁵ the Vāmana Purāṇa is very old. He offers a few arguments in support of his view. But these are refuted by R. C. Hazra.¹⁶ H. H. Wilson offers a much later date for the Vāmana Purāṇa. According to him, it was compiled three or four centuries ago.¹⁷ This is untenable.¹⁸ According to R. C. Hazra, Chapter 14 of the Purāṇa was not inserted earlier than the ninth century A.D. and this can be taken as the date of composition of the entire Vāmana Purāṇa.¹⁹

According to P. V. Kane, the date of compilation of the Purāṇa is between 600 A.D. and 900 A.D. The points

considered by him in support of his view are the following.²⁰

(i) The Kṛtyakalpataru (1100—1130 A.D.)²¹ quotes from the Purāṇa about 88 verses on tīrthas (only some of them have been traced), about 80 verses on vratas, 14 on dāna²² and 11 on niyatakāla.²³

(ii) The legend of King Daṇḍa and Śukra's daughter²⁴ is an echo of a passage of the Arthaśāstra.²⁵

(iii) Why the king is called rājan is given in a passage of the Purāṇa which runs as follows :—

tatra rāj=eti śabdo='sya pṛthivyā rañjanād=abhūt ||²⁶

It is an echo of the following passages of Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa —

rājā prakṛti-rañjanāt²⁷ and

rājā prajā-rañjana-labdha-varṇaḥ

Parantapo nāma yathārtha-nāmā ||²⁸

(iv) The origin of the name Umā²⁹ and the form of Śiva as a Vedic student (with a staff of Palāśa and a girdle of Muñja grass)³⁰ is adopted from Kālidāsa's Kumāra-sambhava.³¹

According to D. C. Sircar, the Vāmana sections on geography was possibly not completed much earlier than the 13th century A.D.³² In support of his suggestion he refers to the passage which runs thus :—

pūrve kirātā yasy=ānte paścime yavanāḥ sthitāḥ |

Āndhrā dakṣiṇato vīra Turuṣkās=tv=api c=ottare ||³³

Thus to the northern and southern boundary of the Kumārīdvīpa are said to be Turuṣkas, i.e., the Turkish Muslims and Andhras, i.e., the Kākatīyas respectively.

According to V. S. Agrawala, the date of compilation of the Vāmana Purāṇa is the first half of the seventh century A.D.³⁴

The arguments offered by him are —

(i) Mahendravarman of the Pallava dynasty, a contemporary of Harṣavardhana of Thanesar is mentioned in the Purāṇa.³⁵

- (ii) The marriage of Rājyaśrī of Thanesar to Graha-varman of Mahodaya or Kanauj is reflected in the Purāṇa.³⁶

As the very name reveals, the Vāmana Purāṇa belongs to the Vaiṣṇava group. It contains 17 Viṣṇu-stotras, but only 11 Śiva-stotras.³⁷ On the other hand, H. P. Shastri regarded it a handbook of the Śaiva sects,³⁸ and Dikshitar placed it in the Śaiva group.³⁹ But the spirit of synthesis and religious tolerance between Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism is one of the distinguishing features of this Purāṇa.⁴⁰ The attitude of the Asuras like Prahlaḡa and Bali towards Brāhmaṇism and the Brāhmaṇical order of society is friendly and they are sometimes submissive to the Brāhmaṇical gods.

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- 1 Asiatic Society ed., I. 25. 20-22.
- 2 Kāśī ed., I. 215. 15-16.
- 3 For R. C. Hazra's views, see *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, Dacca, 1940, pp. 77ff.; also *Studies in the Upa-Purāṇas*, Vol. I, pp. 4-13. Cf. Vmn., p. xxxi. For A. S. Gupta's view see Vmn., pp. xxx-xxxiv.
- 4 I. 1.13-20.
- 5 Veṅkaṡeśvara Press ed. and Baṅgabāsi ed.
- 6 Cr. ed. (chs. 1-23, Sm. 1 (-) Sm. 28, 24-69).
- 7 109. 14-16.
- 8 II. 64. 1-65, 135.
- 9 III. 26. 1-27. 67.
- 10 25. 35-44.
- 11 II. 13. 65-69 ; 47. 1-33.
- 12 25. 35-44.
- 13 V. 218. 27-57 ; VI. 46. 15-45 ; 172. 1-173.16 ; 66. 1-69. 27 ; 23. 1-15 ; VII. 28. 1-11 ; etc.

- 14 See 'Holy Kurukṣetra' below.
- 15 Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, Preface, pp. clxxxii-clxxxiii. See also R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic Records*, etc., p. 78.
- 16 Hazra, op.cit., pp. 78-79.
- 17 Wilson, *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, Preface, p. lxxvi.
- 18 Hazra, op.cit., p. 79.
- 19 Ibid., p. 91.
- 20 History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. V, Part II, pp. 904-05.
- 21 Ibid., p. xiv.
- 22 Also quoted by Aparārka, (1100-1130 A.D., see P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. V, Part II, p. xiv) commentary on Yājñavalkyasmṛti, Ānandāśrama ed., p. 364.
- 23 At p. 358 of the Kṛtyakalpataru three verses are quoted from Vmṇ., 14. 48-50. The first is quoted in Bhujabalanibandha, p. 343 and the last two in Smṛti Candrikā, ed. Gharpure, p. 125. For the date of Smṛti Candrikā see Kane, op.cit., p. xv.
- 24 Vmṇ., 37.19ff. and the following chapters. The legend in brief runs as follows. In the long absence of Śukra, King Daṇḍa of the Ikṣvāku dynasty visited his hermitage. He saw Śukra's daughter Arajā. She welcomed him with brotherly feeling, as Śukra was the teacher of Daṇḍa. But being afflicted with lust he wanted to embrace her. Arajā tried her best to prevent Daṇḍa, but he ravished her by force. When Śukra came to know the wicked deeds of Daṇḍa, he cursed him and, in consequence, Daṇḍa was burnt to ashes together with his kingdom, army and other possessions.
- 25 Arthaśāstra, I. 6 ; ed. Basak, Vol. I, p. 8 —
Yathā Dāṇḍakyo nāma Bhojaḥ kāmāt Brāhmaṇa-kan-
yām = abhimanyamānas = sa-bandhu-rāṣṭro vinanāśa.
- 26 Vmṇ., Sm. 26. 24.
- 27 IV. 12.

- 28 VI. 21.
- 29 Vmn., 25. 21 —
tapaso vārayāmāsa u-m = ety = ev = ābravic = ca sã ||
- 30 Ibid., 25. 45.
- 31 I. 26 and 30.
- 32 Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and
Medieval India, p. 20. Also see R. C. Hazra, op.cit.,
p. 83.
- 33 Vmn., 13. 11.
- 34 Vāmana Purāṇa — a Study, p. ii.
- 35 Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed., 95. 70 ; cr. ed., 68. 57 —
Mahendra-śilpi-pravaro = 'tha Keśavaṁ
sa kārāyāmāsa mahā-mahiyān ||
- 36 Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed., Ch. 76.
- 37 Vmn., Introduction, p. xxv.
- 38 Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,
Vol. XIV, pp. 330-7 ; see also A. D. Pusalker, Studies
in the Epics and Purāṇas, Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan,
p. 1.
- 39 IHQ, Vol. VIII, p. 766 ; see also A. D. Pusalker, op.cit.,
p. xlix.
- 40 For the oneness of Viṣṇu and Śiva, see Vmn., 41. 28,
35 and 37 ; see also our section on 'Religious Life'
below.

Chapter III

HOLY KURUKṢETRA

The importance of Kurukṣetra is indicated by the fact that about twenty seven chapters of the Vāmana Purāṇa¹ consisting of 1228 verses² excluding the prose in chs. Sm. 5 and Sm. 23 and the chapters, parts of which are devoted to Kurukṣetra and its tirthas, deal with the greatness of Kurukṣetra. Such a large number of verses, about one fifth of the total number, is not devoted to any other tirtha.

Antiquity

In the Ṛgveda King Kuruśravaṇa,³ son of Trasadasyu, and a Pākasthāman Kaurayāṇa⁴ are mentioned. Since Kuruśravaṇa and probably Kaurayāṇa originate from Kuru, the term Kuru was familiar, though Kurukṣetra is absent from the Ṛgvedic literature. The territory which was occupied by the Bharatas and was associated with the Dṛṣadvatī, Āpayā and Sarasvatī, on the bank of which two of the Bharatas kindled fire,⁵ later on came to be known as Kurukṣetra. In the Atharvaveda,⁶ there is reference to some Kauravya who was talking to his wife. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa⁷ mentions Kurukṣetra where Nyagrodha was called Nyubja. The Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā⁸ and the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka⁹ say that the gods performed a sacrifice on an altar in Kurukṣetra. In the age of composition of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the holy Kurukṣetra was of considerable importance. The gods excluded from the sacrifice performed in Kurukṣetra would be considered 'imperfect' and 'incomplete'.¹⁰

As a matter of fact the term 'Kuru' meaning a parti-

cular race or tribe is as old as the days of the composition of the Ṛgveda and the term 'Kurukṣetra' meaning 'the land of the Kurus' is familiar to the later Vedic literature. The epico-Purāṇic tradition associating Kurukṣetra with the famous king Kuru of the lunar dynasty is surely a later attempt to explain the origin of the place. The said tradition runs as follows.¹¹

In the beginning of Satya-yuga, Kuru, son of Samvarāṇa of the lunar dynasty (candra-vamśa) and of Tapatī, the daughter of the Sun-god, felt an urge of establishing a permanent monument of glory. He travelled all over the world and at last came to the Dvaita-vana.¹² In it there was a place called Brahma-vedi,¹³ also known as Samanta-pāṇcaka¹⁴ and Rāmahrada.¹⁵ Kuru started ploughing there¹⁶ with the object of cultivating tapas, satya, dayā, kṣamā, śauca, dāna, yoga and brahmacarya.¹⁷

The lord Viṣṇu came to examine the sincerity of Kuru who offered every particle of his body to seed the land. Viṣṇu was highly pleased and offered a boon by virtue of which the land, ploughed by Kuru, came to be known as Kurukṣetra after him and became the most sacred tīrtha in the world. This story is narrated with a little change elsewhere in the same work¹⁸ and also in the other Purāṇas.¹⁹ It is said that it was Indra, and not Viṣṇu, who granted Kuru the boon. The actual place, cultivated by Kuru, was an isolated spot called Kurukṣetra or Kuru-tīrtha²⁰ which is identified by Cunningham²¹ with the Kuru-dhvaja-tīrtha at the western end of the Narbida Tāl and close to the south side of the old fort of Thanesar. In course of time the Kuru-tīrtha and the neighbouring region came to be called Kurukṣetra.

Location

The Taittirīya Āraṇyaka throws some light on the identity of Kurukṣetra. The passage concerned runs thus—

teṣāṃ Kurukṣetraṃ vedir=āsīt | tasyai khāṇḍavo

dakṣiṇ-ārdha āsīt Tūrghnam = uttar-ārdhaḥ | Parīṇaj=

jaghan-ārdhaḥ | Marava utkaraḥ ||²²

The gods performed a sacrifice and Kurukṣetra was their altar. The southern side of the altar was Khāṇḍava, the northern side Tūrghna, the hinder part Parīṇah and Maru, i.e., the desert was the rubbish pit. Khāṇḍava is identical with the Khāṇḍavāyana²³ or the Khāṇḍava forest of the Mahābhārata.²⁴ The epico-Purāṇic traditions sometimes locate it on the Yamunā²⁵ to the south-east of Kurukṣetra. Sometimes it is identified with Indraprastha near Modern Delhi.²⁶ According to N. L. Dey, it is the region between modern Bulandshahr and Saharanpur.²⁷ But in the present text Khāṇḍava lay to the south of Kurukṣetra. According to the authors of the Vedic Index, the exact position of Tūrghna cannot be ascertained.²⁸ P. V. Kane thinks that it is a corrupt reading of Srughṇa²⁹ which may be identified with modern Sugh³⁰ on the old Yamunā, forty miles away from Thanesar and twenty miles to the north-west of Saharanpur in the Ambala District.³¹ According to N. L. Dey, the Srughṇa country extended from Thanesar to the Ganges.³² Parīṇah, which is mentioned also in the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa³³ and in the Śrauta Sūtras,³⁴ may be the Pareos of Arrian,³⁵ which is identified with a tributary of the Indus by Raychaudhuri.³⁶ Maru is the later Maru-sthala³⁷ and the Mārūkā or Marūkā of the Purāṇas³⁸ and is identified with the Maru-deśa comprising modern Marwar or the Rajputana Desert.³⁹

The Mahābhārata offers two clues regarding the identity of Kurukṣetra, viz., (i) Kurukṣetra is situated between the Sarasvatī to the north and the Dṛśadvatī to the south⁴⁰ and (ii) the tract of land between Tarantuka and Arantuka and between Rāmahrada and Macakrūka is called Kurukṣetra.⁴¹ Tarantuka, Arantuka and Macakrūka are the names of the Yakṣa gate-keepers of Kurukṣetra,

as well as of their respective abodes, and Rāmahrada is the dwelling place of the yakṣa gate-keeper Kapila.⁴² Cunningham identifies — (1) Tarantuka (Ratnuk) the abode of Ratna-yakṣa in the north-east corner of Kurukṣetra with Ratan Jakb, close to Pipli on the Sarasvatī, (2) Arantuka (Aratnuk) the abode of Arantuka-yakṣa in the north-west corner of Kurukṣetra with Ber or Baher to the west-north-west of Kaithal where there is also a Yakṣakuṇḡa, (3) Macakruka (Bacakruka) the abode of Macakruk-yakṣa in the south-east corner of Kurukṣetra with Sinkb, very nearly midway between Jhind and Panipath, on the bank of the stream which is said to be the old bed of the Rākṣī or Dṛṣadvatī and (4) Rāmahrada the abode of Kapila-yakṣa in the south-west corner of Kurukṣetra with Ramray, 5 miles to the south-west of Jhind where there exist both a Rāmahrada and a Kapila-tīrtha.⁴³

According to the Manusmṛti, Kurukṣetra is a part of Brahmarṣi-deśa⁴⁴ which is situated just outside Brahmā-varta, the tract of the land between the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī.⁴⁵ Brahmarṣi-deśa comprised Kurukṣetra, Matsya (Jaipur-Alwar-Bharatpur region), Pañcāla (Rohilkhand in U.P.⁴⁶) and Śūrasena (Mathurā region). Thus Kurukṣetra seems to be identical with the eastern portion of the tract between the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī.

The Manusmṛti further says that Vinaśana, which is identical with Kurukṣetra according to the lexicons,⁴⁷ lies on the western border of Madhyadeśa.⁴⁸ Vinaśana, also called Adarśana,⁴⁹ being the place of disappearance of the Sarasvatī, near the country of the Śūdras and Ābhīras⁵⁰ who appear to have lived in the neighbourhood of Kurukṣetra.⁵¹

Rājaśekhara⁵² (10th century A.D.) divides India into five parts, viz., Madhyadeśa, Pūrvadeśa, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Paścāddeśa and Uttarāpatha. Uttarāpatha is beyond Pṛthūdaka.⁵³ Thus Madhyadeśa was extended as far as Pṛthūdaka which is modern Pehoa⁵⁴ on the bank of the Sara-

svatī which is the northern boundary of Kurukṣetra. In the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, Kurukṣetra is represented as identical with Vinaśana.⁵⁵ A fifteenth century commentary of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa⁵⁶ also locates Vinaśana in Kurukṣetra, and this fact represents, as Raychaudhuri says, a considerable change of 'the place of disappearance' of the Sarasvatī.⁵⁷

The Vāmana Purāṇa seems to identify Kurukṣetra with Brahmāvarta which is located between the Sarasvatī and Dṛśadvatī.⁵⁸ It is further narrated in this Purāṇa that Kurukṣetra is situated between Tarantuka and Arantuka and between Rāmahrada and Caturmukha.⁵⁹ Thus the compiler of the Purāṇa directly followed the Smṛti and epic conception of the boundary of Kurukṣetra with slight modification. It mentions Caturmukha⁶⁰ in place of Macakruka⁶¹ (Macakraka).⁶² Considering the data offered above, Kurukṣetra may be identified with modern Karnal⁶³. Ambala region of the Eastern Punjab.⁶⁴

The term 'Kuru' is associated with Kuru-rāṣṭra and Kuru-jāṅgala, apart from Kurukṣetra.⁶⁵ The tract between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā with Hastināpura⁶⁶ (sometimes Indraprastha)⁶⁷ as its capital was known as Kuru-rāṣṭra.⁶⁸ Kuru-jāṅgala in a narrow sense was the forest region of the Kuru realm, which stretched from the Kāmyaka forest on the bank of the Sarasvatī to Khāṇḍava near the Yamunā.⁶⁹ But widely speaking Kuru-jāṅgala is identical with Kurukṣetra.⁷⁰

Sacredness

In the Vedic literature, the number of holy spots in Kurukṣetra was few. In the epic the number of the holy spots is multiplied, but their nature is not complex. A turning point was reached when the Mahābhārata in its final shape and the Manusmṛti were coming into existence. The holy character of Kurukṣetra already began to decline

and some marks of it are left in the epic. It is said in the Mahābhārata that the Sarasvatī disappeared out of strong dislike for the Sūdras and Ābhīras most of whom were foreigners.⁷¹ The foreign inroads resulted in a reaction in Hindu society which led to the complexity of nature of the holy spots of Kurukṣetra and of other places particularly in north-west India. Thus in the Purāṇas ritualism came to be associated with the pilgrim spots. Temples and shrines were erected at different places. Another change came at the end of the first millennium A.D. along with the invasions of the Muslims. Though the late Purāṇas mention the holy spots in details, the popularity of Kurukṣetra was reduced at that time. Chāchiga of the latter half of the 13th Century A.D., who belonged to the Māthura Kāyastha family visited the pilgrim spots of the gods Kedāra, Someśa (i.e., Someśvara or Somanātha), as well as Prayāga and Gaya-śīrṣa (i.e., Gayā) and offered oblations to his deceased ancestors at the last-mentioned place.⁷² But it is significant that Kurukṣetra or its holy spots were not visited by him. The traditional character of Kurukṣetra of course survived. Thus according to the Talangere inscription of Jayasimha, the king made a land-grant to Mochabbarasi and said that the violator of the terms of the grant would incur the sin of 'destroying cows and Brāhmaṇas' in Kurukṣetra.⁷³ It is said in the Huli inscription of the reign of Vikramāditya VI, dated 1082 A.D., that the protector of the temple of Virabhadra, Viṣṇu and others and of the holy pool would achieve the merit of making gifts at the holy places, viz., Vārāṇasī, Kurukṣetra, Arghya-tīrtha, Prayāga and Gayā.⁷⁴ In the inscription of Niralgi, dated 1200 A.D.,⁷⁵ and the Hulgur inscription of Vikramāditya VI, dated 1077 A.D.,⁷⁶ Kurukṣetra is mentioned conventionally along with Vārāṇasī, Gaṅgāsāgara and Prayāga. The Ramtek Stone inscription of the time of Rāmacandra (13th century A.D.) also Kurukṣetra is mentioned,⁷⁷ After remaining in comparative obscurity

for several centuries, Kurukṣetra seems to have recovered its importance before the rule of the Lodis in Delhi. The pilgrims used to visit the holy spots of Thanesar and Sikendar Lodi wanted to kill them.⁷⁸ Abul Fazl also speaks of the pilgrimage of ascetics to Kurukṣetra.⁷⁹

In Kurukṣetra on the bank of the Sarasvatī there are innumerable tīrthas, mere remembrance of which causes puṇya and a visit to them results in the removal of sins. Even a great sinner is emancipated if he takes a bath at these holy spots.⁸⁰ Mere urge of visiting Kurukṣetra and living there or uttering the words that express the desire of visiting the place or living there makes one free from sin of any kind.⁸¹ A man who calls Kurukṣetra together with lord Vāmana to mind even from a distance, attains salvation.⁸² There are four ways of salvation, viz., by acquiring the knowledge of Brahman, by the performance of Śrāddha at Gayā, by achieving end at Gograha and by living in Kurukṣetra.⁸³ If anybody takes a bath in the Sarasvatī, he acquires the knowledge of Brahman.⁸⁴ The planets, constellations and stars are subject to the danger of falling down from the sky; but those who die in Kurukṣetra have no fall on earth, that is, they would not be born again.⁸⁵ In the Mahābhārata, Kurukṣetra and Gaṅgā are placed on the same level.⁸⁶ The epic further says that this is the holiest place in the world.⁸⁷ Even the particles of dust of Kurukṣetra cause emancipation of a great sinner.⁸⁸ Kurukṣetra is the region of Dharma.⁸⁹ It is the place where all the pilgrim spots conjoin.⁹⁰ It is pre-eminent in the three worlds.⁹¹

REFERENCES

- 1 Different Purāṇas describe different localities with special emphasis. The Brahma Purāṇa may represent the Orissa version of the original work, the Padma

gives the version of Puṣkara, the Agni of Gayā, the Varāha of Mathurā, the Vāmana of Kurukṣetra, the Kūrma of Vārāṇasī and the Matsya of the Narmadā region. See CHI, Vol. I, p. 268.

- 2 Vmn., p. xxxix.
- 3 Ṛgveda, X. 33. 4; ed. Max Müller, Vol. V, p. 547. P. V. Kane suggests that Kuruśravaṇa may mean literally 'heard or famous in the land of Kuru.' See History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. IV, p. 680 note.

4 Ṛgveda, VIII. 3. 21.

5 Ibid., III. 23. 4—

Dr̥ṣadvatyām mānuṣa Āpayāyām

Sarasvatyām revadagne didihi |

The two Bharatas are Devaśravas and Devavāta (ibid., III. 23. 2). For the different interpretation of the verse see the Mānuṣa-tīrtha section below.

6 Atharvaveda, XX. 127. 8.

7 Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII. 3.

8 Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā, II. 1. 4—

devāvai sattram = āsata Kurukṣetre.

9 See below.

- 10 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, IV. 1. 5.13ff. See also SBE, Vol. XXVI, pp. 275-76—The ṛṣi, husband of Sukanyā, said to the twin gods (Aśvins), 'In Kurukṣetra yonder the gods perform a sacrifice and exclude you two from it : in that respect you are incomplete, in that respect imperfect.'

They came to the gods as they were performing a sacrifice after the chanting of the Bahispavamāna. The gods did not invite them, because they wondered and mixed much among men, performing cures. At last they were invited, because without them the sacrifice would be headless. The story is narrated in the Mahābhārata (III, Chs. 123-125) in a somewhat different form.

- 11 Mbh., I. 89, 42-43 ; IX. Ch 52 ; Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed., III. 68. 21 ; Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed., VI. 8. 29, and Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ed. T. R. Krishnacharya, III. 3. 12 and VII. 14. 30 ; and Vmn., Chs. 22-23.
- 12 It is known from the Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad that one Matsya King, Dhvasan Dvaitavana, performed the horse sacrifice and ruled in the present Jaipur-Alwar region, where lake Dvaita-vana may be placed. See CHI, Vol. I, p. 108 ; also Dvaita-vana below.
- 13 Vmn., Sm. 1. 13. There are five Brahma-vedis, viz., Samanta-pāñcaka (Uttara-vedi), Prayāga (Madhya-vedi), Gaya-śiraḥ (Pūrva-vedi), Virajā (Dakṣiṇa-vedi) and Puṣkara (Prāticī-vedi) ; see Vmn., 23, 18-20 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 13.99.
- 14 Mbh., III. 81. 178 ; Vmn., Sm. 1. 14. Samanta-pāñcaka was also known as Sarva-pāñcaka (ibid., 23. 17). The term is associated with Kurukṣetra. As regards its extent, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas hold the view that it was five yojanas in all directions (cf. Mbh., III. 129. 22 and Vmn., 23. 16—yojanāni pañca pañca ca sarvataḥ). Though five yojanas became a traditional length of every important Hindu holy place (cf. B. M. Barua, Gayā and Buddha-Gayā, Vol. I. 1931, p. 9), in the case of Kurukṣetra there is some truth in the account. At the time of Hiuen-tsang, the extent of the cakra or district of Kurukṣetra was 200 li or five yojanas, at his valuation of 40 li to the yojana. Hiuen-tsang said that it was 200 li on all the four sides or five yojanas each side. This would make the whole circuit equal to twenty yojanas which corresponds to that given in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇa under the description of Samanta-pāñcaka, 'on every side five.' See ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 89. At the time of Akbar the circle of pilgrimage increased to forty krośa, Cf. Ain-i-

- Akbarī, trans. H. S. Jarrett, ASB ed., 1894, Vol. III, p. 307.
- 15 Vmn., Sm. 1. 13. It is actually a holy place in Kurukṣetra and associated with Rāma, son of Jamadagni (see Mbh., III, 81, 26-27 and 178; Vmn., Sm. 14. 1-2). It is identified with Kurukṣetra in a wide sense because of its growing importance as a popular tirtha. In the Kalpadrukośa (Deśaprakāṇḍa, I) it is called Pañcarāmahradāntarā (see Sircar, Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature, p. 106).
- 16 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 86-‘Kurukṣetra is named after Kuru, the progenitor of the Kauravas, who is said to have become an ascetic on the bank of the Narbida Tāl close to the town of Thanesar.’
- 17 Vmn., 23. 24-25 —
 taṁ karṣantaṁ nara-varaṁ samabhetya Śatakratuḥ |
 provāca rājan kim=idaṁ bhavān kartum=ih=odyataḥ ||
 rājā = ‘bravit sura-varaṁ tapaḥ satyaṁ kṣamāṁ dayāṁ |
 kṛṣāmi śaucaṁ dānaṁ ca yogaṁ ca brahmacāritāṁ ||
- 18 Ch. Sm. 20.
- 19 Matsya Purāṇa, 15. 20ff. Such an origin of Kurukṣetra was noticed also by Al-Bīrūnī (see Sachau, Alberuni’s India, Vol. II, London, 1910, p. 147).
- 20 Mbh., III. 81. 144; Vmn., Sm. 20. 21.
- 21 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 105.
- 22 V. 1.1.
- 23 Rāma, the son of Jamadagni, built here a square Vēdī, forty cubit on all sides and thirty-six cubit in altitude and offered it to the sage Kaśyapa by order of whom the Brāhmaṇas divided it into different parts. Thereafter the spot became known as Khāṇḍavāyana (Mbh., III. 117.12-13). It was the abode of the Nāgas. The fire-god consumed the forest with the help of Arjuna during the absence of the Nāga-king Takṣaka (see

- Ep: Ind., Vol. XXX, p. 239). This name also occurs in the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, XXV. 3. 6.
- 24 See Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 215 ; Raychaudhuri, PHAI, 6th ed., pp. 23-24.
- 25 Once Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna went to the Yamunā (Mbh., I. 214.14ff.). There Agni in the disguise of a Brāhmaṇa met them where they stood in front of Khāṇḍava (ibid., I. 215.1 — lokapravīrau tiṣṭhantau Khāṇḍavasya samīpataḥ).
- 26 Sircar, Cosmography and Geography in the Early Indian Literature, 1967, p. 32.
- 27 N. L. Dey, Geographical Dictionary, 2nd ed., s.v.
- 28 Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 318.
- 29 According to S. Beal, Srughṇa may be identified with Kālsi in the Jaunsar District, on the east of Sirmur. See Buddhist Records of the Western World, Reprint in 1969, Vol. I, p. 186 note ; also see N. L. Dey, op.cit., p. 194.
- 30 Cunningham, The Ancient Geography of India, pp. 290-91.
- 31 Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. IV, p. 681. It is the mound of Sugh where Śuṅga terra cottas and Kuṇḍa coins have been excavated (B. Ch. Chhabra's article in the Bhakti Cult and Ancient Indian Geography, ed. Sircar, p. 181).
- 32 N. L. Dey, op.cit., p. 194.
- 33 XXV. 13.1.
- 34 Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, X. 19. 1 ; Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, XXIV. 6. 34 ; Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, XIII. 29. 32.
- 35 Cf. Arrian, Indika, IV.
- 36 PHAI, p. 22.
- 37 Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 135.
- 38 See Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 38.
- 39 Ibid., pp. 12 and 26.

40. Mbh., Gītā Press ed., III. 83. 4—

dakṣiṇena Sarasvatyā Dṛṣadvaty-uttareṇa ca |

ye vasanti Kurukṣetre te vasanti tripiṣṭape ||

This verse is omitted in the critical ed. For the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī, see the section on Rivers below.

41. Mbh., III. 81. 178—

Tarantuk-Ārantukayor=yad=antaram

Rāmāhradānāñ=ca Macakrukasya ca |

etat Kurukṣetra-Samantapañcakam

Pitāmahasy=ottara-vedir=ucyate ||

42. Ibid., III. 81.13, 21-22, 42 and 171. There was another gate-keeper called Macakruka, see *ibid.*, v. 7, or Mañkaṇaka, see Gītā Press ed., III. 83. 7. Vide also Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, 1915, p. 149.

43. ASI, Vol. XIV, pp. 89-90.

44. Manusmṛti, II. 19—

Kurukṣetrañ=ca Matsyās=ca Pañcālaḥ Śūrasenakā |

eṣa Brahmarṣi-deśo vai Brahmāvartād=anantarah ||

45. Ibid., II. 17—

Sarasvatī-Dṛṣadvatyor=

deva-nadyor=yad=anantaram |

tañ deva-nirmitam deśam

Brahmāvartam pracakṣate ||

46. Sircar locates a Pañcāla country to the north and west of Kurukṣetra on the basis of a medieval work. See *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, p. 109 ; see M. A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, pp. 44-45 note. It is the Pir Pantsāl on which Hastivanj was situated. See also Stein's article in *JASB*, 1895, pp. 376 ff. It is difficult to say whether this Pañcāla is meant by Manusmṛti.

47. See Sircar, *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, p. 16 note 58. Also see below.

48. Manusmṛti, II, 21—

Himavat-Vindhyayor=madhyam

yat prāg=Vinaśanād=api |

pratyageva Prayāgāc=ca
Madhya-deśaḥ prakīrtitaḥ ||

- 49 Cf. Vāsiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra, I. 8.
- 50 Mbh., IX, 37. 1—
Śudr-Ābhīrān prati dveṣād = yatra naṣṭā Sarasvatī |
For Vinaśana see also Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, XXV.
10. 6 and Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, IV. 26.
According to N. L. Dey, Vinaśana is a spot in the desert
of Sirhind (Patiala) where the Sarasvatī loses itself after
taking a westerly course from Thanesar (op.cit., p. 37).
The thirteenth century commentary of Yaśodhara on
the Kāmasūtra identifies Ābhīra-deśa with Śrīkaṇṭha-
Kurukṣetr-ādi-bhūmi. See GOS, No. 1, p. 249 ; also
Sircar, Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian
Literature, p. 107.
- 51 Sircar, op.cit., p. 73.
- 52 Kāvya-mīmāṃsā, GOS, pp. 93-94.
- 53 Ibid.,—Pṛthūdakāt = parata Uttarāpathaḥ.
- 54 ASI, Vol. XIV, pp. 101-102.
- 55 II. 1. 14—
Kurukṣetraṁ Vinaśanaṁ Kauśāmbī Vatsapattanam |
See Sircar, Cosmography and Geography in Early
Indian Literature, p. 105. See also Kalpadrukośa,
Deśaprakāṇḍa, I cited by Sircar, Cosmography and
Geography in Early Indian Literature, pp. 106-07.
- 56 Bhāgavata Purāṇa, I. 9. 1.
- 57 See Raychaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities, p.
139.
- 58 Vmn., Sm. 12. 9. This verse is adopted from the
Manusmṛti, II. 17. See above.
- 59 Vmn., Sm. 1. 14. Compare Mbh., III. 81. 178 above.
- 60 It is probably an abode of Brahman near the dwelling
or Macakruka. The Padma Purāṇa mentions Maca-
kruka in place of Caturmukha. See III. 13. 99.
- 61 Mbh., III. 81. 178 ; see also above.
- 62 Ibid., Gītā Press ed., III. 83. 208.

63. The district of Karnal is named after the town of the same name, which is supposed to be founded by the epic hero Karna. See Census of India, 1961, Punjab, District Census Handbook, No. 4, Karnal District, p. 3.
64. Sircar, *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, p. 18; see also V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, 1952, pp. 54-55 and Sircar's article in *IHQ*, Vol. XXI, p. 300; also *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 103.
65. Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV. 1. 172. Kurukṣetra, Kuru-rāṣṭra and Kuru-jāṅgala are collectively known as the realm of the Kurus (Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 6th ed., p. 23).
66. It is identified with a ruined site in the Meerut District on the old bed of the Gaṅgā, lat. 29°9' N., long. 78°3' E. See *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, ed. Pargiter, p. 355; see also *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 275.
67. It is modern Indarpat near Delhi. See *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 275.
68. Cf. *Kāśikā*, Kāśī ed. of Balasastri, 1928, II. 47. See Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 22; also *The Bhakti Cult and Ancient Indian Geography*, ed. Sircar, Calcutta, 1970, p. 176.
69. *Mbh.*, III. 6. 3; *Rāmāyaṇa*, II. 68. 13. See also Raychaudhuri, *P H A I*, pp. 23-24.
70. *Vmn.*, Sm. 1. 1—
Sarasvatī-Dṛṣṭadvatyor = antare Kuru-jāṅgale |
Kalpadrakoṣa, *Deśaparakāṇḍa*, I; see Sircar, *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, pp. 71-72, 106-07.
71. See above.
72. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 340-42.
73. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 208-9; vide also the inscription of Ablur (*ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 259-60), the Kelawadi inscription (1053 A.D.) of the time of Someśvara I (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 262), the Bankapur inscription (Śaka 977) of

- Someśvara I (ibid., Vol. XIII, pp. 172, 175), the Momi-
 gatti inscription (1124 A.D.) of Vikramāditya VI,
 (ibid., Vol. XVII, p. 119) the Kolhāpur inscription of
 Śaka 1058 (ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 34), the Miraj inscription
 of Śaka 1065 and 1066 (ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 38 and 40),
 etc.
- 74 Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 179 and 181.
- 75 Ibid., Vol. XVI, pp. 67 and 71.
- 76 Ibid., p. 331.
- 77 Ibid., Vol. XXV, p. 16—
 aṣṭame ca Kurukṣetra-nāmni tīrtha-vare naraḥ |
- 78 ASI, Vol. XIV, pp. 95-96, adopted from the Tārīkh-i-
 Dāūdī.
- 79 H. Elliot and J. Dowson, The History of India as Told
 by its own Historians, Vol. V, p. 318.
- 80 Vmn., Sm. 12. 4.
- 81 Ibid., Sm. 12. 7—
 Kurukṣetraṁ gamiṣyāmi Kurukṣetre vasāmy=aham |
 ity=evaṁ vācam=utsrjya sarva-pāpaiḥ pramucyate ||
 This verse is adopted from the Mahābhārata with a
 little modification. Compare Mbh., III. 81. 2. See also
 Agni Purāṇa, 109. 14-15 and Padma Purāṇa III. 13. 97.
- 82 Vmn., Sm. 15. 78.
- 83 Ibid., Sm. 12. 8—
 Brahma-jñānaṁ Gayā-srāddhaṁ
 Gograhe maraṇaṁ tathā |
 vāsaḥ puṁsāṁ Kurukṣetre
 muktir=uktā caturvidhā ||
- 84 Ibid., Sm. 12. 11.
- 85 Naradiya Purāṇa, Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed., II. 64. 24—
 Graha-nakṣatra-tārāṇāṁ kālena patanād=bhayaṁ |
 Kurukṣetre mṛtānāṁ tu na bhūyaḥ patanaṁ bhavet ||
 Compare Vmn., Sm. 12. 16.
- 86 Mbh., Gitā Press ed., III. 85. 88—Kurukṣetra-samā
 Gaṅgā.
- 87 Ibid., IX. 53. 17—

n = ātaḥ parataram puṇyam
bhūmeḥ sthānam bhaviṣyati ।

88 Ibid., III. 83. 3—

pāṁśavo = 'pi Kurukṣetre vāyunā samudīritāḥ ।
api duṣkṛta-karmāṇāṁ nayanti paramāṁ gatim ॥

The verse is omitted in the critical ed.

89 Vmn., 23. 33.

90 Matsya Purāṇa, Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed., 22. 18.

91 Ibid., 109. 3—

trayāṇām = api lokānām Kurukṣetram viśiṣyate ।

For the mātmya of Kurukṣetra, also see Lakṣmīdhara,
Kṛtyakalpataru, GOS, Vol. VIII, pp. 175-79.

Chapter IV

RIVERS

The holy rivers of Kurukṣetra are mentioned in the following passage of the Vāmana Purāṇa—

Sarasvatī nadī puṇyā tathā Vaitaraṇī nadī ||
 Āpagā ca mahā-puṇyā Gaṅgā Mandākinī nadī |
 Madhusravā Vāsunadī¹ Kauśikī pāpa-nāśinī ||
 Dṛṣadvatī mahā-puṇyā tathā Hiraṇvatī nadī |
 varṣā-kāla-vahāḥ sarvā varjayitvā Sarasvatīm ||²

The above nine rivers of Kurukṣetra are the Sarasvatī, Vaitaraṇī, Āpagā, Gaṅgā-Mandākinī, Madhusravā, Vāsunadī, Kauśikī, Dṛṣadvatī and Hiraṇvatī. In the Baṅgabāsi ed. (13.1), it is said that there are seven rivers in Kurukṣetra ; but in the verses *ibid.*, 6-8, nine of them are mentioned. In this connection, Cunningham³ remarks that 'the Hindus invariably assign seven branches to all their rivers' and suggests that the Madhusravā and the Vaitaraṇī are added by mistake. The Madhusravā is taken by Cunningham to be the holy pool in the bed of the Sarasvatī at Pṛthūdaka and the Vaitaraṇī as another name of the Dṛṣadvatī. But this view of Cunningham has been refuted by M. L. Bhargava.⁴

1. Sarasvatī

Among the holy rivers of Kurukṣetra the Sarasvatī occupies the foremost position by virtue of its holiness. In the Ṛgveda, there is a verse as regards the identity and importance of the Sarasvatī. The verse⁵ runs thus—

ek = ācetat-Sarasvatī nadīnām

śucir = yati giribhya ā-samudrāt |

rāyaś=cetaṁtī bhuvanasya bhūrer=

ghṛtaṁ payo duduhe Nāhuṣāya ॥

Thus the Sarasvatī originates in the mountains and falls in the ocean. It is the chiefest and purest. It is the source of food and wealth of the descendants of Nahuṣa and of 'other living beings'. What is meant by 'other living beings' is perhaps the five tribes, viz., the Bharatas, Kurus, Ruśamas, Matsyas and Videhas,⁶ for it is said in the Ṛgveda that the Sarasvatī causes the prosperity of five folks.⁷ She is the purifier,⁸ and the bestower of wealth, progeny, immortality and vitality.⁹ She is called ambitamā,¹⁰ naditamā¹¹ and sindhumātā.¹² Sindhumātā may have the sense of nadimātā, or may indicate a possible connection with the Indus.¹³ She is said to have seven sisters and is sevenfold.¹⁴ She is mentioned along with the Sarayū and the Sindhu¹⁵ and sometimes with the Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Śutudrī, Paruṣṇī and others.¹⁶ Sarasvatī, the best of mothers, rivers and goddesses,¹⁷ is associated with the Maruts and Aśvins.¹⁸ In the Ṛgveda, she is called the wife of a hero¹⁹ and in the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, the wife of the Aśvins.²⁰ In the later Vedic texts, she is identified with the goddess of eloquence, wisdom and speech, and is also said to be the wife of Brahman.²¹

The holy character of the river may be proved by the facts that Agni was kindled for sacrifice on its bank,²² and she was invoked to descend from the sky and the mountain to the sacrifice²³ and she sits on the sacrificial grass.²⁴

In the Mahābhārata, the Sarasvatī is said to be holy and the best of the rivers.²⁵ The very name Sarasvatī suggests that there were many pools and lakes formed in its course. In the epic,²⁶ a large number of such pools are mentioned and eulogized. Matināra, the ancestor of Duṣmanta, performed a sacrifice on her bank for twelve years and after the completion of the

sacrifice Sarasvatī married him,²⁷ though she is said to be the wife of the Maruts and Aśvins in the Vedic literature.²⁸ Kṛṣṇa also performed a sacrifice on her bank for twelve years.²⁹ There developed a large number of pilgrim spots on her banks.³⁰

Though the Sarasvatī is said to have joined with the sea forming a holy spot at her confluence,³¹ she split up into several parts, seen at different places,³² that were joined by invisible links.³³ This is why Raychaudhuri thinks that the lower parts of the Sarasvatī became disconnected with the main river before the completion of the epic.³⁴ One of the places of disappearance of the Sarasvatī is called Vinaśana.³⁵ It is said in the Mahābhārata that the Sarasvatī disappeared at Vinaśana, the gate of the Niśāda kingdom, so that the Niśādas could not see her.³⁶ Raychaudhuri offers three suggestions regarding the cause of disappearance of the Sarasvatī, viz., the high degree of aridity and the south-west monsoon that drifted the sand, diversion of the air containing water-vapour and diversion of the headwater of the Sarasvatī through some other rivers, e.g., the Yamunā or the Sutlej.³⁷

As in the Vedic literature, so also in the epic, the Sarasvatī is mentioned along with the Sindhu.³⁸ There is no evidence of their being identified. The Sarasvatī was the rival of the Indus in the Vedic period and in the epico-Purāṇic period is considered to be the rival of the Gaṅgā.³⁹

The Sarasvatī played a dominant role in the growth and development of the culture and civilization of ancient India. The eulogy of the Sarasvatī uttered by Mārkaṇḍeya, later on relayed by Lomahaṛṣaṇa to a band of sages and long after that narrated by the compiler of the Vāmana Purāṇa clearly reveals the role of the great river. It is said to be the mother of all beings, the auspicious mother of gods.⁴⁰ Everything is said to be rooted in her.⁴¹ Lomahaṛṣaṇa further said the following⁴² regarding the Sarasvatī —

etan = mātṛā-trayaṃ⁴³ devi tava rūpaṃ Sarasvatī ।

vibhinna-darśanām = ādyām Brahmaṇo hi sanātanim ॥

Thus the three mātṛās are but her appearance, her primordial, eternal and wonderful forms. The Sarasvatī is also said to be the tongue of Viṣṇu.⁴⁴ In this eulogy two aspects of the Sarasvatī are revealed. Firstly, she makes the land fertile and fit for cultivation and by that capacity she is the very source and root of life. Secondly, she is represented with the goddess of learning and thus she is also the source of culture and learning. So she is undoubtedly holy and excellent.⁴⁵ Thus the Vedic and epic conception of the Sarasvatī is maintained in the Purāṇas. What is added in the Vāmana Purāṇa is that the Sarasvatī is personified as a goddess seated on an elephant and holding a white chowrie resembling the swan, the Kunda flower and the moon.⁴⁶ This is a unique description of Sarasvatī. Here the elephant is represented as a symbol of prosperity.

The Sarasvatī is one of these rivers that originated from the Himalayas (Himavat-pāda-niḡṣṭāḡ).⁴⁷ But at different places in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata the Sarasvatī is called Plakṣajā, i.e., born of the Plakṣa.⁴⁸ In this connection it is said in the Vāmana Purāṇa⁴⁹ that, after crossing a large number of mountains, the Sarasvatī entered the Dvaita-vana. Mārkaṇḡeya saw her established in the Plakṣa and praised her. Then Sarasvatī, the tongue of Viṣṇu being pleased, agreed to go where Mārkaṇḡeya would take her. Thus the name Plakṣajā is associated not with the origin of the Sarasvatī, but with her in the Dvaita-vana probably because of the plentiful growth of this tree in the region. The story of Mārkaṇḡeya may indicate the fact that, after reappearing at Barakhera the Sarasvatī was joined by the Mārkaṇḡeya at Urani near Pehoa and the united stream was also known as the Sarasvatī.⁵⁰

There is a controversy regarding the identity of the Sarasvatī. It is identified with four rivers, viz., the Aves-

tan river Harahvaitī in Afghanistan,⁵¹ the Indus,⁵² a tributary of the Śutudrī which later on merged with the Vipāś,⁵³ and a river associated with the Dṛṣadvatī and the Āpayā and later on formed the boundary of Kurukṣetra.⁵⁴ The Ṛgvedic river Sarasvatī mentioned along with the Dṛṣadvatī cannot be any other than the modern Sarsuti.⁵⁵ In the 9th century, it was known as Prācī Sarasvatī⁵⁶ as against the western Sarasvatī which may be identified either with the Avestan Harahvaitī⁵⁷ or the river flowing by the shrine of Śāradā in Kashmir.⁵⁸

Rising in the Sirmur hills, the Sarasvatī emerges into the plains for the first time at Ād-Badrī in the Ambala District. Then it disappears and reappears several times in course of her journey towards the south and south-west, till at last it flowed into the Arabian Sea in the early Vedic period.⁵⁹ It was visible between Ād-Badrī and Chalaaur, Bhavanipur and Balchappar and reappeared again at Barakhera before being joined by the Mārkaṇḍeya and entering Kurukṣetra,^{60a} The Sarasvatī is considered to be the northern boundary of Kurukṣetra.⁶⁰ But in the Mahābhārata it is said that the Sarasvatī disappears at the Vinaśana-tīrtha, but reappears at Camasa, Śivodbheda and Nāgodbheda.⁶¹ The later legend is that the Sarasvatī became invisible and joined the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā at Allahabad.⁶²

As regards the antiquity and course of the Sarasvatī, the Padma Purāṇa⁶³ reveals the following facts. Being ordered by Brahman, his daughter Sarasvatī agreed to carry vāḍav-āgni to the western sea for the welfare of the gods. She bid farewell to the gods, took the form of a river and appeared near the hermitage of Utaṅka under a Plakṣa tree at the presence of the gods.⁶⁴ On the eve of her journey, Viṣṇu told her that, while carrying the vāḍav-āgni, she should not think herself free from danger, because the vāḍav-āgni would drink up the water in her course.⁶⁵ Viṣṇu thus hints at the disappearance of the Sarasvatī.

Going on a short distance from the Puṣkarāraṇya towards the west, she disappeared,⁶⁶ but reappeared in the Kharjūra-vana where she was called Nandā,⁶⁷ then she proceeded towards the south⁶⁸ and at last towards the west.⁶⁹

As regards the tributaries of the Sarasvatī, it is said in the Vāmana Purāṇa that Suprabhā, Kāñcanākṣī, Vimalā, Mānasa, Sarasvatī, Suveṇu and Vimalodakā are united in one at the Sapta-sārasvata-tīrtha.⁷⁰ These are the seven names of the Sarasvatī called at different places. She was called Suprabhā at Puṣkara,⁷¹ Kāñcanākṣī at Naimiṣa,⁷² Viśālā at Gayā,⁷³ Mandharā in Uttara Kośala,⁷⁴ Suveṇu at Kedāra,⁷⁵ Vimalodā at Gaṅgādvāra,⁷⁶ and Sarasvatī in Kurukṣetra. The origin of the seven Sarasvatīs may be traced back to the R̥gveda.⁷⁷ It is said in the Vāmana Purāṇa that all these seven rivers were guided to Kurukṣetra by Mañkaṇaka, mind-born son of Kaśyapa with the help of his mental power.⁷⁸ The confluence is known as the Sapta-Sārasvata-tīrtha. What is clear in this legend is that this place (i.e., the Sapta-Sārasvata-tīrtha) is considered to be as holy as the seven places, viz., Puṣkara, Naimiṣa, Gayā, Uttara-Kośala, Kedāra, Gaṅgādvāra and Kurukṣetra, and anybody having a dip here will secure the merit of bathing at those seven places.

It is for the benefit of all beings that the Sarasvatī pursues her course in different directions.⁷⁹ The eastern stream is equated with the Gaṅgā, the southern with the Narmadā, the western with the Yamunā and the northern with the Sindhu.⁸⁰ It is said that a man bathing in the Sarasvatī attains the merit of bathing in all the tīrthas.⁸¹ The four streams are probably nothing but four bathing pools. The legend is added with the object of increasing the sanctity of the Sarasvatī.

There are epigraphic references of the glory of the Sarasvatī which causes final beatitude, cuts the bonds of misery and protects from lust and diseases. A ninth century inscription compared the Sarasvatī with a boat

for crossing the ocean of births, a chariot for travelling along the road of the gods, a cloud to shed showers on the fire and a sun to destroy the thick mud-like darkness of diseases. The epigraphic text^{81a} runs as follows —

-- — dhau sura-patha-gamane syandanas-sādhu [-varga]
 ---- āta-vanheḥ pralaya-jala-dharassāmpatat sāndradhāraḥ |
 nāna-vyādhi-pravandha-pracura tara tamaḥ pañka-viṅgham
 sabhānurṇīraṇ=ca=iva tat samantādytu durita
 --- — [s]ārasvataṁ vaḥ ||

2. Vaitaraṇī

The Vaitaraṇī is mentioned for the first time in the Mahābhārata. The Vaitaraṇī-tīrtha of the epic is identical with some spot on the Vaitaraṇī river in the region of the Viraja-tīrtha.⁸² Vaitaraṇī is sometimes used as another name of the Gaṅgā, particularly in the region of the pitṛs. It is very difficult for the sinners to cross this river.⁸³ The Vaitaraṇī associated with Viraja rises from the Vindhya and flows through Orissa into the Bay of Bengal.⁸⁴ So this river is not associated with Kurukṣetra.

The name Vaitaraṇī occurs thrice in the Vāmana Purāṇa, once in connection with the list of rivers rising from the Vindhya⁸⁵ and twice in relation to Kurukṣetra.⁸⁶ The Vaitaraṇī is associated with Kurukṣetra for the first time in the list⁸⁷ of the holy rivers of Kurukṣetra and for the second time in the following verses⁸⁸ which are adopted from the Mahābhārata⁸⁹ with very little modification —

tatas=Triviṣṭapaṁ gacchet tīrthaṁ deva-nisevitam |

tatra Vaitaraṇī puṇyā nadī pāpa-pramocanī ||

tatra snātv=ārcayitvā ca Śūlapāṇīm vṛṣa-dhvajam |

sarva-pāpa-viśuddh-ātmā gacchaty=eva parāṁ gatim ||

Thus the Vaitaraṇī is a holy river on the bank of which the Triviṣṭapa-tīrtha is situated. This river is the destroyer of all sins. If anybody bathes in it and then worships lord Śiva on its bank, he attains emancipation.

As it is absent in the list of rivers rising from the Himalayas and as very little information is given regarding it by the author of the epic and by the compiler of the Vāmana Purāṇa, it may be a small tributary of some river, possibly the Sarasvatī.

3. Apagā (v. 1: Apayā)

The earliest reference to this river is found in the following passage of the Ṛgveda⁹⁰ where it is mentioned between the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī —

Dṛṣadvatyām mānuṣa āpayāyām

Sarasvatyām revad=agne didīhi ।

The identity of the āpagā or āpayā is a matter of controversy. Ludwig identifies it with the Gaṅgā.⁹¹ Zimmer thinks that it is either a tributary of the Sarasvatī or the modern Indramatī.⁹² Pischel simply recognises it to be a river of Kurukṣetra.⁹³ Cunningham identifies it either with the Ayak-nadī, which is a small stream that rises in the Jammu hills to the north-east of Sialkot and is marked in the revenue survey maps as the Nananwa Canal flowing 15 miles to the south-west of Sāngala,⁹⁴ or with a twenty-five miles long branch of the Chitang, which originates 'a few miles to the west of Ladwa and flows past Pulwal to Pabnawa, where it is lost in the sands.'⁹⁵

The importance of this river is no less in the days of the compilation of the Vāmana Purāṇa than it was in the age of the composition of the Mahābhārata. The eulogy of this river is found in six verses⁹⁶ of the Vāmana Purāṇa the first of which is adopted from the Mahābhārata⁹⁷ with a little modification. This verse⁹⁸ is the following —

Mānuṣasya tu pūrveṇa Krośa-mātre dvij-ottamāḥ ।

āpagā nāma vikhyātā nadī dvija-niṣevitā ॥

Thus the holy river āpagā which is situated within a distance of a Krośa in the east of the Mānuṣa-tīrtha is

frequently visited by the Brāhmaṇas. It is further said in the Vāmana Purāṇa that on the bank of the river if anybody offers to the Brāhmaṇas śyāmāka grain boiled in milk and moistened with ghee, he becomes free from sins.⁹⁹ Those who perform śrāddha on the bank of the river have undoubtedly their wishes fulfilled. The forefathers expect that their living descendants would offer them tarpaṇa on the bank of the Āpagā. The pilgrim offering here the ball of rice to the manes at noon in the month of Bhādra, especially on the Caturdaśī of the dark fortnight, attains liberation.¹⁰⁰ The Mahābhārata mentions some merits of this river which are not adopted in the Vāmana Purāṇa. It is said that, by offering feast to one Brāhmaṇa one achieves the merit of feeding one crore of Brāhmaṇas.¹⁰¹ Bathing in this river, worshipping the forefathers and gods there and staying there for one night, the pilgrims achieve the merit of the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice.¹⁰²

4. Gaṅgā-Mandākinī

The Mahābhārata mentions two Mandākinī rivers, one near Citrakūṭa¹⁰³ and the other in the Himalayan region.¹⁰⁴ The second one is associated with the Gaṅgā and came to be known as Gaṅgā-Mandākinī. There are some literary references to Mandākinī, a tributary or sub-tributary of the Gaṅgā.¹⁰⁵ The Mandākinī of the Vikramorvaśīya¹⁰⁶ and the Meghadūta¹⁰⁷ is either the Gaṅgā before it descends on the plain or the Kali-gaṅgā, known as Mandagin, a tributary of the Alakānandā.

It is said in the Vāmana Purāṇa that there was a great fight between the gods and demons and their blood created a river resembling the Mandākinī.¹⁰⁸ It indicates nothing regarding its identity. The Mandākinī is again mentioned in the list of rivers that rise at the foot of the Rkṣa.¹⁰⁹ But that river has no connection with Kuru-

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kṣetra. Moreover, the absence of the Mandākinī in the list of the Himalayan rivers¹¹⁰ suggests that the Maṇḍākinī of Kurukṣetra is not an independent river, but a tributary of some other river. The Mandākinī is further mentioned in the Vāmana Purāṇa in the story of Jyotiṣmat. Being desirous of a son, Jyotiṣmat, son of the Niṣadha king Vapuṣmat, practised penance on the bank of the Mandākinī.¹¹¹

5. Madhusravā

According to the Ṛgvedic mythology, the highest step or place of Viṣṇu is the source of madhu.¹¹² It is not unlikely that this river is associated with the Ṛgvedic tradition. The Madhusravā is mentioned in the Vāmana Purāṇa¹¹³ as one of the holy rivers of Kurukṣetra only once, either because it lost its importance in the days of compilation of the Vāmana Purāṇa or because it was called by any other name. Cunningham identifies the Madhusravā river with the Madhusrava pool¹¹⁴ of Pṛthūdaka in the bed of the Sarasvatī. In that case, he refuses to accept it as a river.¹¹⁵ But this view is opposed by Bhargava who thinks that the Kauśikī of the Mahābhārata near Madhuvaṭī is called Madhusravā, probably because it ran through the Madhu forest.¹¹⁶ He further says that the Kauśikī-Madhusravā is the lower Cataṅg.¹¹⁷ The cakradhara form of Viṣṇu is associated with this river.^{117a}

6. Vāsunadī

In the Vāmana Purāṇa two Vāsu rivers are mentioned, one of which is the holy river of Kurukṣetra¹¹⁸ and the other rises at the foot of the Ṛkṣa.¹¹⁹ These two cannot be connected on account of their geographical location.

It is interesting to note that the Baṅgabāsi ed. of the

Vāmana Purāṇa mentions Amlunadī¹²⁰ (v. 1. Ambunadī) in the place of the Vāsu of the critical ed. In the Mahābhārata, Sutīrtha, a holy place in Kurukṣetra, is said to be situated on the bank of the Ambumatī.¹²¹ In the Vāmana Purāṇa, Sutīrtha is placed between the Brahmāvarta-tīrtha and the Ambuvana.¹²² The Ambuvana may be a forest region on the bank of the Ambunadī. The Ambumatī may be identified with the Amśumatī of the Ṛgveda.¹²³ It is said that on the bank of the Amśumatī Indra killed the demon Kṛṣṇa.¹²⁴

7. Kauśikī

The Kauśikī was possibly named after the sage Kuśika or Viśvāmitra, son of Kuśika¹²⁵ or the Viśvāmitras who are known as a family of the Kuśikas.¹²⁶

The hermitage of Kuśika was situated on the bank of the Kauśikī which destroys all sins and bathing in which gives the merit of the Rājasūya sacrifice.¹²⁷ The pilgrims are advised to stay on the bank of the Kauśikī for one month with the object of earning the merit which is equivalent to that of the Aśvamedha sacrifice.¹²⁸ The Kauśikī joined the Aruṇā and the confluence was considered to be a holy place.¹²⁹

Brief information regarding the Kauśikī is available in the Vāmana Purāṇa. Issuing from the foot of the Himālaya,¹³⁰ the pāpa-nāśinī Kauśikī flows through Kurukṣetra¹³¹ touching the holy places like the Sambhava-tīrtha¹³² and at last joins the Dṛṣadvatī making the confluence a holy spot.¹³³ Prahlāda, in the course of his pilgrimage, visited this river.¹³⁴ On the bank of the Kauśikī there is the tortoise form of Viṣṇu (Kūrma-vapu-dharam). The pilgrims take bath in the river, observe fast, worship the god and offer gifts to the Brāhmaṇas.¹³⁵

The Kauśikī in Kurukṣetra is the Kosi which flows by Almora and Ramnagar in north-western U.P.¹³⁶ Accor-

ding to Cunningham, the confluence of the Kauśikī and the Dṛṣadvatī exists near the village of Balu on the Rakshi river, 9 miles to the west of Karnal and 17 miles to the south of Thanesar,¹³⁷ The Dṛṣadvatī that joins the Kauśikī near Madhuvaṭī is thought to be a different stream by Bhargava,¹³⁸ who further says that Madhusravā is the name of that part of the Kauśikī which flows through the Madhuvana.¹³⁹

8. Dṛṣadvatī

In the Ṛgveda,¹⁴⁰ the Dṛṣadvatī is mentioned with the Apayā (Apagā) and the Sarasvatī as a holy river for the worship of Agni. In the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa¹⁴¹ and the Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra,¹⁴² the Dṛṣadvatī and the Sarasvatī are mentioned as specially suitable for sacrifices.

Regarding the holiness of the Dṛṣadvatī, it is said in the Mahābhārata¹⁴³ that by bathing in that river and offering tarpaṇa to the gods, one may attain the merit of the Agniṣṭoma and Atirātra sacrifices. It is said further in the epic that on its bank were situated five famous hermitages, viz, Nyāgrodha, Puṇya, Pañcāla, Dālbhyaghoṣa and Dālbhya.¹⁴⁴ The epic eulogy of the Dṛṣadvatī is followed in the Purāṇas.¹⁴⁵ The Matsya Purāṇa¹⁴⁶ says that Adhisīma-Kṛṣṇa performed a sacrifice on its bank for two years.

The deva-nadī Dṛṣadvatī¹⁴⁷ rises from the foot of the Himalayas¹⁴⁸ and forms the western boundary of Madhyadeśa¹⁴⁹ and the southern boundary of Kurukṣetra.¹⁵⁰ This stony river,¹⁵¹ as the etymology of its name suggests, runs parallel to the Sarasvatī for some times and then joins it. As known from the Vāyu Purāṇa,¹⁵² the original name of the Dṛṣadvatī was Ratnāvātī; but it came to be known as Dṛṣadvatī in the Kali age. The town called Vāyupura was situated on its bank. The river flows through the Naimiṣ-āraṇya.¹⁵³

There are many laides bearing the name Dṛṣadvatī, e.g., the queen of Samhatāśva,¹⁵⁴ wife of Haryaśvā, son of Vasumat,¹⁵⁵ the wife of Viśvāmitra and mother of Aṣṭaka,¹⁵⁶ the queen of Divodāsa and mother of Pratardana,¹⁵⁷ a queen of Uśinara and mother of Śibi.¹⁵⁸ But it is difficult to say whether these persons were associated with the river of the same name.

There is a controversy as regards the identity of the river. The first view is that the Dṛṣadvatī is identical with Citang (v. l. Citrang or Cautang) which flows parallel to the Sarasvatī.¹⁵⁹ But this view is opposed by Bhargava¹⁶⁰ who says that the Dṛṣadvatī is called Catang after her union with the latter outside the holy tract of Kurukṣetra somewhere in the south-west. He further says that the Catang runs through the middle of Kurukṣetra. The second view is of Cunningham¹⁶¹ who identifies the Dṛṣadvatī with the Rakshi which runs 17 miles to the south-west of Thanesar, on the ground that the Kauśikī-saṅgama still exists on the Rakshi. But this view is also refuted by Bhargava¹⁶² who says that the Rakshi is modern Rākā which joined the Dṛṣadvatī in the south-eastern corner of the holy tract in later days. The third view is that the Dṛṣadvatī is identical with the Ghaggar.¹⁶³ Bhargava does not accept it, because the Ghaggar flows to the north of the Sarasvatī.¹⁶⁴ D. C. Sircar also regards this view as unjustifiable.¹⁶⁵

Bhargava suggests the existence of another Dṛṣadvatī in connection with the Phalakī-vana and the Kauśikī.¹⁶⁶ He says that in the Mahābhārata, the Dṛṣadvatī is called Raupyā.¹⁶⁷ The second Dṛṣadvatī is also known as Hiraṇyavatī in later days, probably to distinguish it from the Raupyā-Dṛṣadvatī.

9. Hiraṇvatī

In the Mahābhārata the Hiraṇvatī is mentioned as

a holy river of Kurukṣetra.¹⁶⁸ In the Vāmana Purāṇa this river of Kurukṣetra is associated with Rudrākṣa form of Viṣṇu.¹⁶⁹

There is one Hiraṇvatī on which stood the Sāla grove of the Mallas and the Upavattana of Kuśinārā.¹⁷⁰ According to B. C. Law, it is the little Gaṇḍak and the same as the Ajitavatī near Kuśinārā, which flows through the district of Gorakhpur about eight miles to the west of the Great Gaṇḍak and falls into the Gogrā (Sarayū).¹⁷¹ Cunningham also identified it with the Gaṇḍakī.¹⁷² But in the context of Kurukṣetra this identification has no relevance.

The Hiraṇvatī flowing through Kurukṣetra is a river that issues from the foot of the Himālaya.¹⁷³ Badarī is said to be situated on this river.^{173a} Both the Hiraṇvatī and the Gaṇḍakī, being mentioned in the same list of the Himalayan rivers,¹⁷⁴ cannot be identified with each other. It is said in the Vāmana Purāṇa that Nandayantī, daughter of Dakṣa Añjana, threw herself into the Hiraṇvatī, in fright from a monkey and was carried to a spot where from she alone marched to Śrīkaṇṭha on the bank of the Yamunā.¹⁷⁵ So the Hiraṇvatī seems to be not far from Śrīkaṇṭha.

There is a legend in the Vāmana Purāṇa which helps to locate this river. Viśvakarman, in the form of a monkey, kept Devavatī in a holy hermitage in Śrīkaṇṭha on the southern bank of the Kālindī or Yamunā.¹⁷⁶ He dived into the Kālindī and was carried by the swift current to Śivideśa.¹⁷⁷ On his way back to Śrīkaṇṭha, the monkey met Añjana with his daughter Nandayantī whom the monkey took to be Devavatī. Then he ran away with the lady who fell down into the Hiraṇvatī river out of fear and Añjana saw it.¹⁷⁸ So the Hiraṇvatī would run through the tract between the Yamunā and Śivideśa. There was a hill called Hiraṇyaṣṭhīva which formed the boundary of Plakṣa.¹⁷⁹ It is not quite impossible that the Hiraṇvatī

Kruṣṣetra in the Vāmana Purāṇa
 river was associated with this hill. M. L. Bhargava¹⁸⁰ identifies this Hiraṇvatī with that portion of the Drṣadvatī which flows through the Phalakī-vana and says that this river was known as Hiraṇvatī in later days.¹⁸¹

REFERENCES

- 1 In the Baṅgabāsi ed., the reading is Amlunadi.
- 2 Sm. 13. 6-8.
- 3 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 89.
- 4 The Geography of Ṛgvedic India, Lucknow, 1964, p. 48 ; also see below.
- 5 Ṛgveda, VII. 95.2 ; ed. Max Muller, Vol. IV, p. 242. For the Sarasvatī, see also ABORI, Vol. XLII, pp. 1ff.
- 6 Raychaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities, 2nd ed., p. 133.
- 7 Ṛgveda, VI. 61.12—pañca jātā vardhayanti ; ed. Max Muller, Vol. III, p. 845.
- 8 Ṛgveda, VI. 52.6 ; ed. Max Muller, Vol. III, p. 815—
 Indro nediṣṭham = avas = āgamiṣṭhaḥ
 Sarasvatī-Sindhubhiḥ pinvamānā |
 parjanya na oṣadhībhir = mayobhur =
 agniḥ suśāmsaḥ suhavaḥ pit = eva ||
- 9 Ṛgveda, X.30.12 ; ed. Max Muller, Vol. V, p. 532.
- 10 Ṛgveda, II. 41.16 ; ed. Max Muller, Vol. II, p. 620.
- 11 Loc. Cit.
- 12 Ṛgveda, VII. 36. 6 ; ed. Max Muller, Vol. IV, p. 68.
- 13 See Vājasaneyi Samhitā, XXXIV. 11.
- 14 Ṛgveda, VI. 61.10 ; ed. Max Muller, Vol. III, p. 845—
 uta naḥ priyā priyāsu sapta-svasā sujuṣṭā |
 Sarasvatī stomyā bhūt ||
 See also Ṛgveda, VII. 36.6 ; ed. Max Muller, Vol. IV, p. 68—

ā yat sākam yaśaso vāvaśānāḥ

Sarasvatī saptathī sindhu-mātā ।

See also Ṛgveda, VIII. 54.4.

- 15 Ṛgveda, X. 64.9 ; ed. Max Muller, Vol. VI, p. 94—
Sarasvatī Sarayuh Sindhur—ūrmibhir=
maho mahīr=avasāyam tu vakṣaṇiḥ ।
- 16 Ṛgveda, X. 75. 5 ; ed. Max Muller, Vol. VI, p. 153—
Yamune Sarasvatī Śutudri stomam sacatā Paruṣṇyā ।
- 17 Ṛgveda, II. 41. 16 ; ed. Max Muller, Vol. II, p. 620—
ambitame naditame devitame Sarasvatī.
- 18 Ṛgveda, VII. 9. 5 ; ed. Max Muller, Vol. III, p. 938—
Sarasvatīm Maruto Aśvin=āpoyakṣi
devān=ratnadhe yāya viśvān ॥
See also ibid., X. 131.5 ; ed. Max Muller, Vol. VI,
p. 478.
- 19 Ṛgveda, VI. 49.7 ; ed. Max Muller, Vol. VI, p. 794—
pāvīravī kanyā citrāyuh Sarasvatī
vīra-patnī dhiyam dhāt ।
- 20 Vājasaneyi Samhitā, XIX. 94 ; see Macdonell, Vedic
Mythology, p. 87.
- 21 Vāj. Sam., XIX. 12 ; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 9 ;
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, III. 1.
- 22 Ṛgveda, III. 23.2-3 ; ed. Max Muller, Vol. II, pp.
746-47.
- 23 Ṛgveda, V. 43.11 ; ed. Max Muller, Vol. III, p. 411.
- 24 Ṛgveda, X. 17. 7-9 ; ed. Max Muller, Vol. V, p. 459.
- 25 XIII. 134. 15.
- 26 I. 2. 4ff. ; III. 25. 10-12 ; 81. 178 ; IX. 30. 53 ; 37. 25 ; 43.
10-28 ; see also Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIII. 5. 4. 9 ;
Sachau, Alberuni's India, Vol. II, Ch. 66.
- 27 Mbh., I. 90. 25-26—
Matinārah khalu Sarasvatyām
dvādaśa—vārṣikam satramājahāra ॥
nivṛtte ca satre Sarasvaty=abhigamya
tam bhartāram varayāmāsa ।
tasyām putram=ajanayat Taṁsuram nāma ॥

- 28 See above.
- 29 Mbh., III. 13. 13—
āsiḥ kṛṣṇa Sarasvatyām satre dvādaśa-vārṣike ||
- 30 Ibid., 88. 2—
Sarasvatī puṇya-vahā (v. 1. mahā-puṇyā) hradinī (v. 1. hlādinī) vana (v. 1. tīrtha)-mālinī |
- 31 Mbh., III. 80. 79—Sarasvatyāḥ sāgarasya ca saṅgame |
See also ibid., XIII. 146. 17—Nadī sāgara-gāminī.
- 32 Ibid., IX. 35. 1ff.
- 33 Ibid., 35. 84.
- 34 Raychaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities, p. 137.
- 35 For the identification of Vinaśana, see above.
- 36 Mbh., III. 130. 4—
dvāraṁ Niśāda-rāṣṭrasya yeṣāṁ dveṣāt Sarasvatī |
praviṣṭā pṛthivīm vīra mā niśādā hi mām viduḥ ||
- 37 Raychaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities, pp. 139-40. See also Science and Culture, Vol. VIII, p. 473, note, and Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī (1450 A.D.), tr. K. K. Basu, p. 137.
- 38 Mbh., II. 9. 19—
Vipāśā ca Śatadruś=ca Candrabhāgā Sarasvatī |
Irāvati Vitastā ca Sindhur=Devanadas=tathā ||
See ibid., III. 156. 8—
Ilā Sarasvatī Sindhur=Yamunā Narmadā tathā |
See also ibid., III. 186. 93-94.
- 39 Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, 57. 30—
sarvāḥ puṇyāḥ Sarasvatyaḥ
sarvā Gaṅgāḥ samudragāḥ |
- 40 Vmn., Sm. 11. 6—
tvam devi sarva-lokānām mātā devārāṇiḥ śubhā |
- 41 Ibid., Sm. 11. 7—yatra sarvaṁ pratiṣṭhitam.
- 42 Ibid., Sm. 11. 12.
- 43 The three mātṛās are represented by Omkāra. Ibid., Sm. 11. 9.
- 44 Ibid., Sm. 11. 22—Viṣṇor=jihvā Sarasvatī; see Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 9; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, III. 1;

Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, XIX. 12 ; above. Also see Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, 23. 40-48.

- 45 Vmn., 2.42—Sarasvatī yatra puṇyā syandate saritām varā and ibid., 7.42—Sarasvatīm puṇyām dadarśa vimal=odakām.
- 46 Ibid., 27. 12—
haṁsa-kund=endu-saṁkāśam
bīla-vyajanam=uttamam |
Sarasvatī saric=chreṣṭhā
gajārūḍhā samādadhe ||
- 47 Ibid., 13.20-22 ; vide also Matsya Purāṇa, 114.20 and compare Ṛgveda, VII. 95.2 above. The Sarasvatī rises in the Sirmur hills of the Siwalik range of the Himalayas ; vide Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 40.
- 48 Vmn., Sm. 11. 3—Plakṣa-br̥kṣāt samudbhūtā saric=chreṣṭhā sanātānī | See also Mbh., III. 82.5—Plakṣād=devī srutā rājan mahā-puṇyā Sarasvatī and ibid., I. 169.20—Plakṣa-jātām Sarasvatīm.
- 49 Vmn., Sm. 11. 4-5 and 23—
s=aiśā śaila-sahasrāṇi vidārya ca mahā-nadī |
praviṣṭā puṇya-toy=aughā vanaṁ Dvaitam=iti
smṛtam ||
tasmin plakṣe sthitām dṛṣtvā Mārkaṇḍeyo mahā-muniḥ |
praṇipatyā tadā mūrdhnā tuṣṭāv=ātha Sarasvatīm ||
evam stutā tadā devī Viṣṇor=jihvā Sarasvatī |
pratyuvāca mahātmānam Mārkaṇḍeyam mahā-munim |
yatra tvaṁ neṣyase vipra tatra yāsyāmy=atandritā ||
- 50 Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 40 note. For the Mārkaṇḍa, see also Census of India, 1961, Punjab, District Census Handbook, No. 4, Karnal District, p. 4.
- 51 See Hopkins, Religions of India, p. 31.
- 52 Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 87.
- 53 JRAS, Vol. XXV, pp. 49-76 ; also see Muir, OST, 2.345.
- 54 SBE, Vol. XXXII, p. 60.

- 42 Kurukṣetra in the Vāmana Purāṇa
- 55 Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, 2nd ed., p. 130 ; Sircar, *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, p. 22.
- 56 Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 187. In the Padma Purāṇa the Sarasvatī on the bank of which Śiva stayed with the sage Mañkaṇaka is called Prācī Sarasvatī (I. 18—Prācim = ev = eha vatsyāmi tvayā sārdham = ahaṁ sadā). The abode of Mañkaṇaka was in Kurukṣetra. In connection with Puṣkara also, the Sarasvatī is called Prācī (ibid., I. 18. 130—Prācī pūrvāvahā nāmnā muni-vandya Sarasvatī ; see also ibid., I. 18.218—Puṣkar-āraṇyam = āsādyā Prācī yatra Sarasvatī, and 233-35.
- 57 Indian Antiquary, 1903, p. 291, and CHI, Vol. I, p. 321, note.
- 58 Rājataranī, I. 37 ; see also Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, 2nd ed., p. 131.
- 59 R̥gveda, ed. Max Muller, p. 6, commentary.
- 59a See Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 46 note.
- 60 See above.
- 61 Mbh., III. 80. 118—
tato Vinaśanaṁ gacchen = niyato niyat-āśanaḥ |
gacchaty = antarhitā yatra maru-pr̥ṣṭhe Sarasvatī |
Camase ca Śivodbhede Nāgodbhede ca dṛśyate ||
For Nāgodbheda also see Agni Purāṇa, 109. 13ff.
- 62 B. S. Upadhyaya, *India in Kālidāsa*, p. 15.
- 63 Padma Purāṇa, I. 18. 157ff. ; also Bṛhatsamhitā, XX. 2.
- 64 Padma Purāṇa, I. 18. 186-87. The Sarasvatī is called Plakṣā-devī after the Plakṣa tree. See ibid., III. 14.7—
Plakṣā-devī smṛtā rājan = mahā-puṇyā Sarasvatī.
- 65 Ibid., I. 18. 94-95.
- 66 Ibid., I. 18. 247—
Puṣkar-āraṇyam = āsādyā punas = tasmāt Sarasvatī |
antarddhānam gatā gantum pravṛttā pāścimāmukhī ||
- 67 Ibid., I. 18. 248-50. The Sarasvatī was named Nandā after a holy cow of the same name. Cf. ibid., I. 18. 457—

Nandā yena gatā svargam

Nandām prāpya Sarasvatīm ।

ten=ākhyayā budhais=tasyāḥ

proktā Nandā Sarasvatī ॥

For the legend of Nandā see the previous verses of the same chapter.

68 Ibid., I. 18. 458—

Sarasvatī punas=tasmād=vanāt Kharjūra-sangitāt ।

dakṣiṇena punar=yātā plavayantī dharā-talam ॥

69 Ibid., I. 18. 466.

70 Vmn., Sm. 16. 17-18 ; for the Sapta-Sārasvata-tīrtha see below.

71 Ibid., Sm. 16. 21-23.

72 Ibid., Sm. 16. 28.

73 Ibid., Sm. 16. 30-31.

74 Ibid., Sm. 16. 32-34.

75 Ibid., Sm. 16. 35-36.

76 Ibid., Sm. 16. 37-38 ; see ibid., 36. 54 in which there is a list of seven Sarasvatīs, of them Vimalodā is replaced by Oghavatī.

77 Ṛgveda, VII. 36. 6 and VI. 61. 10 ; also see above. There are other rivers called Sarasvatī in Gujarat (Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, p. 192 ; Skanda Purāṇa, VII. 35. 38 ; ASI, Western circle, 1905-06, p. 53 ; Mbh., III. 82. 58-60 ; IX. 35. 72 ; Vmn., Baṅgabāsī ed., 84. 28 ; Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 275 and 283), at Trivenī and at Muktaveni in the Hoogly District of West Bengal (Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa, I. 6. 27-28, 33-34).

78 Vmn., Sm. 16. 23, 31, 34, 36 and 38.

79 Ibid., Sm. 21. 9.

80 Ibid., Sm. 21. 7-8—

pūrva-pravāhe yaḥ snāti Gaṅgā-snāna-phalam labhet ।

pravāhe dakṣiṇetasyā Narmadā saritām varā ॥

paścime tu diśābhāge Yamunā samśritā nadī ।

yadā uttarato yāti Sindhur=bhavati sā nadī ॥

81 Ibid., Sm. 21. 9—

tasvām snātaḥ sarva-tīrthe snāto bhavati mānavaḥ ॥

For the mähātmya of the Sarasvatī, see also Lakṣmīdhara, Kṛtyakalpataru, GOS, Vol. VIII, pp. 249-50.

- 81a Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 245.
- 82 Mbh., III. 83. 6 and 114. 4 ; V. 107. 14.
- 83 Ibid., I. 158. 19—
tathā pītṛṇ=Vaitaraṇī dustarā pāpa-karmabhiḥ |
See also ibid., VI. 99.38 ; VII. 48.50 ; VIII. 55. 42.
- 84 Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 50 note ; also see IHQ, Vol. XXVII, p. 224.
- 85 Vmn., 13. 28.
- 86 Ibid., Sm. 13.6 ; Sm. 15. 41-42. Cf. N. L. Dey, op.cit., p. 18.
- 87 Vmn., Sm. 13. 6-8 ; see also Padma Purāṇa, I. 26. 79:
- 88 Vmn., Sm. 15. 41-42. For the holiness of the river see also Kūrma Purāṇa, II. 36. 36-37 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 85-86.
- 89 Mbh., III. 81. 70.
- 90 III. 23. 4 ; ed. Max Muller, Vol. II, p. 747.
- 91 Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, Vol. I, s.v.
- 92 Ibid., Vol. I, s.v.
- 93 Ibid., Vol. I, s.v.
- 94 The Ancient Geography of India, p. 156.
- 95 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 89 ; see also Raychaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities, p. 130.
- 96 Sm. 15. 1-6.
- 97 III. 81. 55-56.
- 98 Vmn., Sm. 15. 1.
- 99 Ibid., Sm. 15. 2.
- 100 Ibid., Sm. 15. 3-6.
- 101 Mbh., III. 81.56.
- 102 Ibid., III. 81. 57.
- 103 III. 83. 55 ; V. 109. 9 ; XIII. 26. 27.
- 104 Ibid., XIII. 20. 7—

so = 'paśyat kāncana-dvāraṁ dīpyamānam=iva śriyā |
Mandākinīm ca nalinīm dhanadasya mahātmanah ||

- 105 . Raghuvamśa, XIII. 48; Kumārasambhava, I.29; II. 44; III. 65.
- 106 Nirṇayasāgara Press ed., Act IV, p. 87.
- 107 Uttara., 4.
- 108 Vmn., 9.50—
Mandākinī-vega-nibhām vahantīm
pravartayanto bhayadām nadīm ca ||
- 109 Ibid., 13. 25-28. Also see Matsya Purāṇa, 105. 10; 114. 25.
- 110 Vmn., 13. 20-22.
- 111 Ibid., 46. 44.
- 112 Ṛgveda, I. 154.5—Viṣṇoḥ pade parame madhva utsaḥ.
- 113 Vmn., Sm. 13. 6-8. There is a holy spot of the same name. See below.
- 114 Vmn., Sm. 18. 39; Mbh., Gītā Press ed., III. 83. 151.
- 115 ASI, Vol. XIV, pp. 89 and 100.
- 116 Bhargava, op.cit., p. 60.
- 117 Loc. cit.
- 117_a Vmn., 63. 8.
- 118 Ibid., Sm. 13. 6-8. It is difficult to identify it. See Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 48 note.
- 119 Vmn., 13. 27.
- 120 Ibid., Baṅgabāsī ed., 34. 8.
- 121 Mbh., Gītā Press ed., III. 83. 56—tato=’mbu-matyām dharma-jña Su-tīrthakam=anuttamam | The reading is different in the cr. ed.
- 122 Vmn., Sm. 14. 39-42.
- 123 Vedic Index, Vol. I, s.v.
- 124 Ṛgveda, VIII. 96. 13; Atharvaveda, I. 4. 1; see also Sircar, Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature, p. 24, note. Amśumatī is sometimes believed to be the same as the Yamunā. Sometimes it is regarded as the ancient name of the Bhānumatī-Vadhūsarā-Duhān (cf. Bhargava, op. cit., pp. 48-50).
- 125 Ṛgveda, III. 33. 5; ed. Max Muller, Vol. II, p. 831.

- 126 Ṛgveda, III. 26. 1 and 3 ; 29. 15 ; 30. 20 ; 42. 9 ; 53. 9 and 10.
- 127 Mbh., III. 82. 113.
- 128 Ibid., III. 82. 123-24.
- 129 Ibid., III. 82. 135.
- 130 Vmn., 13. 20-22.
- 131 Ibid., Sm. 13. 7.
- 132 Ibid., Sm. 13. 18.
- 133 Ibid., Sm. 15. 57.
- 134 Ibid., 52. 5.
- 135 Ibid., 52. 5-6 ; Kūrma Purāṇa, II: 36. 36-37.
- 136 Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 42 note ; see also IHQ, Vol. XXVII, p. 217 ; Law, Historical Geography of Ancient India, pp. 91 and 226.
- 137 ASI, Vol. XIV, pp. 88, 98.
- 138 Bhargava, op. cit., pp. 57-58.
- 139 See above.
- 140 Ṛgveda, III. 23. 4 ; see above.
- 141 XXV. 10. 13.
- 142 XXIV. 6. 6.
- 143 Mbh., III. 81.73.
- 144 Ibid., Gītā Press ed., III. 90. 11—12. The verses are omitted in the cr. ed.
- 145 Vmn., Sm. 15. 46—
 Dṛṣadvatyāṁ naraḥ snātvā tarpayitvā ca devatāḥ ।
 Agniṣṭoma-Ātirātrābhyāṁ phalaṁ vindati mānavaḥ ॥
 See Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 88.
- 146 Matsya Purāṇa, 50. 67 ; 114. 22.
- 147 Vmn., Sm. 12. 9 ; Manusmṛti, II. 17.
- 148 Vmn., 13. 21 ; Sachau, Alberuni's India, Vol. I, Ch. 25 ; Matsya Purāṇa, 14. 22.
- 149 Manusmṛti, II. 17.
- 150 Vmn., Sm. 1. 1 and Sm. 12. 9.
- 151 Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 374.
- 152 Vāyu Purāṇa, 59. 127-28—

• dharma-śāl = āpi bahulā Vāyu-sthāne mahā-pure |

Ratnāvatī svarṇa-mayī Gaṅgā c = āmṛta-vāhinī ||

Kalau Dṛṣadvatī nāma mahā-pātaka-nāśinī |

Vāyunā sthāpitaṁ hy = etac = chāsanam pāpa-

nāśanam ||

153 Ibid., 1. 14.

154 Ibid., 88. 64 ; Bhahmāṇḁa Purāṇa, III. 63. 65.

155 Vāyu Purāṇa, 88. 76.

156 Ibid., 91. 103 ; Brahṁāṇḁa Purāṇa, III. 66. 75.

157 Brahṁāṇḁa Purāṇa, III. 67. 67.

158 Ibid., III. 74. 18 and 20 ; Matsya Purāṇa, 48. 16-18 ;
Vāyu Purāṇa, 99. 19-21.

159 Rapson, Ancient India, p. 51 ; Imperial Gazetteer of
India, p. 26 ; Law, Geographical Essays p. 51 ; Sircar,
Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Litera-
ture, p. 24.

160 Bhargava, op. cit., p. 54.

161 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 88 ; see also Raychaudhuri, Studies
in Indian Antiquities, p. 130.

162 Bhargava, op. cit., p. 54.

163 Das, Ṛgvedic India, p. 71 ; J/ SB, Vol. VI, p. 181 ; N.
L. Dey, op. cit., pp. 57-58.

164 Bhargava, op. cit., p. 54.

165 Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and
Medieval India, p. 42.

166 Bhargava, op. cit., pp. 57-58.

167 Mbh., III. 129. 7.

168 Ibid., V. 149. 73 —

āsādyā saritaṁ puṇyāṁ Kurukṣetre Hiraṇvatīm |

sūpatīrthāṁ śuci-jalāṁ śarkarā-panka-varjitāṁ ||

See also V. 157. 1.

169 Vmn., 63. 32.

170 Dīghanikāya, 2. 137 ; see SBE, Vol. XI, p. 85.

171 Law, Geography of Early Buddhism, p. 37.

172 Ancient Geography of India, p. 453.

173 Vmn., 13. 20.

- 173a Cf. N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 15. For Badarī, see the Dhavala Inscription in JASB, 1841, p. 821.
- 174 Vmn., 13. 20-22.
- 175 Ibid., 38. 45-47.
- 176 Vmn., 38. 9-10.
- 177 Ibid., 38. 12. This Śivideśa is unidentified and should not be confused with the land of the Śivas of the Ṛgveda which had the capital at Śibipura, modern Shorkot in the Jhang Disrtict of the Punjab. See The Age of Imperial Unity, ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 160 note.
- 178 Vmn., 38. 14-17.
- 179 Bhāgavata Purāṇa, V. 20. 4.
- 180 Bhargava, op. cit., p. 58.
- 181 See above.

Chapter V

FORESTS

Kurukṣetra is adorned with seven auspicious and sin-destroying¹ forests, viz., Kāmyaka, Aditi, Vyāsa, Phalakī, Sūrya, Madhu and Śīta.² Apart from these seven the Dvaita forest deserves special mention.

1. Kāmyaka

The Kāmyaka-vana is associated with the Sun-god called Pūṣan³ who is established there. The pilgrims become pure by seeing the lord, and bathing there on Sunday they get their desired objects.⁴ Here lies the significance of the name of the forest (Kāmyaka-vana, i.e., the forest which gives the desired objects). The name may have come from Kāma-vana, because the associated god Pūṣan is connected with love and marriage.⁵ In the Vedic literature, Pūṣan is also represented as the remover of dangers and the lord of the roads,⁶ and in that capacity he may be regarded as the guardian of forest.

The Kāmyaka forest is mentioned in the following verse of the Mahābhārata—

tataḥ Sarasvatī-kūle sameṣu maru-dhanvasu ।

Kāmyakam nāma dadṛśur = vanam muni-janapriyam ॥⁷

It was situated on the bank of the Sarasvatī and extended up to the deserts. There is another verse in the epic which also throws some light on the location of the forest. The verse runs thus—

sa Vyāsa-vākyam = uditō vanāt Dvaita-vanāt tataḥ ।

yayau Sarasvatī-tīre Kāmyakam nāma kānanam ॥⁸

Thus being pleased with the advice of Vyāsa, Yudhiṣṭhira went to the Kāmyaka forest on the bank of the Sarasvatī

from the Dvaita forest. Kāmōda which is six miles to the south-east of Thanesar and contains Draupadī-kā Bhāṇḍār is said to be located in this forest.⁹ According to N. L. Dey, this forest is not identical with the Kāmyaka-vana in the district of Mathurā.¹⁰

The Kāmyaka forest was inhabited by deer, Siddhas and sages.¹¹ There were many ascetics and their hermitages.¹² They performed religious ceremonials which made the forest ṛddhimat.¹³ It was the forest which was visited by the Pāṇḍavas in the course of their exile;¹⁴ but later on they did not like to stay there as Arjuna was not with them. Vidura also paid a visit to this forest when the Pāṇḍavas were staying there.¹⁵

2. Aditi

The Aditi forest was situated between the Rantuka-tīrtha, the abode of the dvārapāla who was the chief of the yakṣas,¹⁶ and Savana, the abode of Viṣṇu.¹⁷ Originally it was the hermitage of Kaśyapa. Aditi performed penance here for a long time with the object of getting Viṣṇu as her son¹⁸ and, in course of time, the spot came to be known as Aditi forest.¹⁹

There is a legend²⁰ associated with the penance of Aditi, and it increased the holiness of this forest. The king of the demons, named Bali, conquered the kingdom of the gods. As per instruction of Brahman, the gods along with their father Kaśyapa and mother Aditi went to Śveta-dvīpa where Viṣṇu was then residing, with a view to getting rid of the demons.²¹ Viṣṇu granted the boon that he would be born in the womb of Aditi and would make the gods free from fear for Bali. Then they returned to the hermitage of Kaśyapa in Kurukṣetra and she undertook a severe penance which moved Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu was reborn in the womb of Aditi as the incarnation of Vāmana.

The performers of vratas in the Aditi forest for three

successive nights achieve their desired objects.²² Even one who remembers this forest from a distant land attains the supreme place (paramaṁ sthānam).²³ He who offers food here to two, three or five Brāhmaṇas with due respect to them, attains to the highest state (paramāṁ gatim).²⁴ The pilgrims bathe here and worship Aditi, the mother of gods, to procure a valiant son, free from all blemishes, and to ride on the aerial car resembling hundred suns in splendour.²⁵ In the Vedic literature, Aditi is frequently prayed for blessings on children and cattle, for protection and forgiveness.²⁶

In the Vedic and epico-Purāṇic sources,²⁷ there is a significant story about Aditi. A pair of ear-rings came up during the churning of the ocean. Indra gave these rings to Aditi. The demon-king Naraka stole them and carried them off to the city of Prāḡjyotiṣa.²⁸ Kṛṣṇa brought these back and restored to Aditi.

3. Vyāsa

The Vyāsa-vana is certainly associated with the great sage Vyāsa, believed to be the author of the Mahābhārata. As regards the Vyāsa forest, the Vāmana Purāṇa²⁹ contains the following verse which is adopted from the Mahābhārata—³⁰

tato Vyāsa-vanaṁ gacchen=niyato niyat-āśanaḥ ।

Manojave naraḥ snātvā dṛṣṭvā deva-maṇim Śivam ॥

Thus after the Miśraka-tīrtha,³¹ the pilgrims visited the Vyāsa forest. The holy spots in this forest are Manojava, Madhuvaṭī and the confluence of the Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī, all of which are discussed below. The Vyāsa-vana may be identified with Vyāsasthalī.³²

4. Phalakī

Phalakī is one of the holy forests of Kurukṣetra:

The Vāmana Purāṇa describes and eulogizes this forest in seven lines which are adopted from the Mahābhārata, with a slight modification.³³ The Phalakī-vana is an excellent place where the gods, Gandharvas, Sādhyas and sages practise penance. A man who bathes in the Dīṣadvatī flowing there and offers oblations to gods, gets the merit of the Agniṣṭoma and Atirātra sacrifices. There exists a great tīrtha and, bathing there, a man achieves the merit of the gift of a thousand cows. In the Vāmana Purāṇa³⁴ the Phalakī-vana is glorified further in three verses which are not found in the Mahābhārata. It is said to be auspicious for the performance of śrāddha there on Monday during the dark fortnight of a month. From the point of view of śrāddha, the Phalakī-vana is as holy as Gayā. If anybody calls to mind this excellent forest, his dead forefathers certainly obtain satisfaction.

It is known from the Matsya Purāṇa³⁵ that a long sacrificial rite was performed in the Phalakī-vana on the bank of the Dīṣadvatī, i.e., the Rakshi,³⁶ for long two years during the reign of a king called Adhisomakīṣṇa. The Phalakī-vana is identified with the modern Pharal region, 17 miles to the south-west of Thanesar,³⁷ and four miles from the town of Pundri, in the Kaithal sub-division of the Karnal District.³⁸ The area of Pharal is 10.43 sq. miles. The place is called Phalakī-vana, supposed to mean 'the forest of Phalak', a famous sage who attained a great spiritual power. The fair called Phalgu is performed here at present.³⁹

5. Madhu

The Vāmana Purāṇa contains very little information regarding Madhu-vana. It is sanctified by the Svayambhuva form of Viṣṇu⁴⁰ who was visited and worshipped by Prahlāda in the course of his journey from Kurukṣetra to Puṣkar-āranya.⁴¹ There is a legend⁴² about the origin

of the name of the forest. A demon named Madhu lived on the bank of the Yamunā and the region was called Madhu-vana after him. Śatrughna, brother of Rāma, killed here his enemy Lavaṇa, son of Madhu, made this place a city and named it Mathurā (Madhurā).⁴³ But it is difficult to identify the Madhu-vana of Kurukṣetra with Mathurā on the bank of the Yamunā. Madhu-vana is a place capable of removing all types of sins.⁴⁴ The goddess Sugandhā is worshipped there ;⁴⁵ but she is not mentioned in the Vāmana Purāṇa. Indra is said to be associated with this forest.⁴⁶ Cunningham identifies it with modern Mohana, four miles to the south of the Pharal-Madhuvaṭi-tīrtha and Kauśiki-tīrtha.⁴⁷

6-7. Śīta and Sūrya

The compiler of the Vāmana Purāṇa gives very little emphasis on the Śīta-vana (v.l. Śītā-vana) and the Sūrya-vana. As regards the former, the Purāṇic verse,⁴⁸ which is copied from the Mahābhārata⁴⁹ runs thus —

tataḥ Śīta-vanaṁ gacchen=niyato niyat-āśanaḥ ||

tīrthaṁ tatra mahā-viprā mahad=anyatra durlabham |

The pilgrims come here after visiting the Mātṛ-tīrtha and Sutīrtha.⁵⁰ The Śīta-vana may be identified with Sivana⁵¹ or Siwan (16.41 sq. miles in area), a village in the Kaithal Tahsil of Karnal District.⁵² At present there is an old shrine of Śītā and it is associated with the epic legend that the earth swallowed her in answer to her appeal as a proof of her purity.⁵³ There is also a tank dedicated to Śītā,⁵⁴ with wells on its four corners.

As regards the Sūrya-vana, the Purāṇa mentions only the name and nothing else. The Mahābhārata is silent about it. There is one Sūrya-tīrtha ;⁵⁵ but its association with the Sūrya-vana is uncertain. V. S. Agrawala identified it with Sajumān.⁵⁶

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8. Dvaita

Though the Dvaita-vana is not included in the list of the holy forests of Kurukṣetra, it is not completely neglected in the Vāmana Purāṇa. It is mentioned on four occasions in the Purāṇa, and we gather the following information regarding it. The Sarasvatī flows through this forest.⁵⁷ King Vena, being cursed by Yama, was born in the Dvaita-vana, also known as the Saugandhika forest.⁵⁸ Here he was humiliated by the dogs and the bitch Suramā. Then he went to the Sthāṇu-tīrtha and became free from sin by the grace of Śiva.⁵⁹ It seems that the Sthāṇu-tīrtha or Sthāneśvara was not far away from the Dvaita forest. Moreover, the Kuru-tīrtha, the land that was ploughed by Kuru and made holy by Viṣṇu, was situated in the Dvaita forest.⁶⁰ The Lodhia plate of Mahāśivagupta mentions—Dvaita-vanīya-śrīmat-pañca-yajña-tapovana.⁶¹ Thus Dvaita-vana had some penance groves, and the Pañcayajña tapovana was one of them. The place was so called, because there was a lake called Dvaita within its boundary.⁶² As known from the Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, there was a great Matsya King, Dhvasan Dvaitavana,⁶³ who performed a horse sacrifice. The Dvaita lake was probably associated with the name of this king. The Pāṇḍavas visited this forest in course of their exile and offered oblations to their ancestors.⁶⁴ When they were staying here, the Brāhmaṇas from different places came and settled in the forest.⁶⁵ The sound of the Vedic hymns uttered by the Brāhmaṇas made the Dvaita-vana and the pool as holy as the realm of Brahman.⁶⁶

The Dvaita-vana is sometimes identified with Deoband, about 50 miles to the north of Mirat in the Saharanpur District, U.P., $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the west of the Eastern Kālinadi.⁶⁷ According to Bhargava, this forest is situated to the south of the Sarasvatī, and east of the Kāmīyaka forest.⁶⁸

In connection with Kurukṣetra, we hear of four other

forests called Ambu,⁶⁹ Bhavānī,⁷⁰ Pṛthu⁷¹ and Śāla.⁷² These are minor woods omitted in the list of the holy forests.

REFERENCES

- 1 Vmn., Sm. 13. 3—
yeṣāṃ nāmāṇi puṇyāṇi sarva-pāpa-harāṇi ca ||
- 2 Ibid., vv. 4-5—
Kāmyakam ca vanam puṇyam
tath=Āditi-vanam mahat |
Vyāsasya ca vanam puṇyam
Phalakī-vanam=eva ca ||
tatra Sūrya-vana-sthānam
tathā Madhu-vanam mahat |
puṇyam Śīta-vanam nāma
sarva-kalmaṣa-nāśanam ||
See also Nāradiya Purāṇa, II. 65. 4-7.
- 3 Pūṣan, regarded as an aspect of the Sun-god, is sometimes called the messenger of Sūrya (Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 30). He is also the 'lord of all things moving and stationary', almost the same words with which Sūrya is described (ibid., p. 35).
- 4 Vmn., Sm. 20. 32-34.
- 5 Macdonell, op. cit., p. 35.
- 6 Ibid., pp. 35-36.
- 7 III. 6. 3.
- 8 Ibid., III. 37. 37.
- 9 See ASI, Vol. XIV.
- 10 N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 88.
- 11 Mbh., III. 6. 4.
- 12 Ibid., III. 79. 8-9.
- 13 Ibid., III. 6. 5—Kāmyakam vanam=ṛddhimat.
- 14 Ibid., III. Ch. 79.

- 15 Ibid., III. 86. 17 ; see also 6. 5.
- 16 Vmn., Sm. 13. 11. This tirtha may be associated with Rantideva, the sixth descendant of Bharata. See Dowson, A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History and Literature, London, 1879, p. 263.
- 17 Vmn., Sm. 13. 14.
- 18 In the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā (XXIX. 60) and the Taittirīya Saṁhitā (VII. 5. 14), Aditi is addressed as the wife of Viṣṇu ; but in the epico-Purāṇic literature, she is called the mother of Viṣṇu (Mbh., III. 13. 23 ; see also Macdonell, op. cit., p. 121), the daughter of Dakṣa (Mbh., I, 59. 12) and the wife of Kaśyapa (ibid., 66. 13). Devakī, the mother of Kṛṣṇa is represented as being a manifestation of Aditi (Dowson, op. cit., p. 3).
- 19 Vmn., Sm. 6. 12-14.
- 20 Ibid., Sm. 4—Sm. 7.
- 21 Viṣṇu is sometimes called śveta-dvīpa-pati Mādhava (IHQ, Vol. XXII, p. 128 ; see also Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 181). Śveta-dvīpa is on the bank of the Kṣīroda—samudra, i.e., Kṣīravān which V. S. Agrawala regards as the old name of the Caspian Sea (Bhakti Cult and Ancient Indian Geography, ed. Sircar, p. 147). Śveta-dvīpa which is sacred to Mahāviṣṇu is located somewhere in Asia Minor (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXIV, p. 80).
- 22 Vmn., Sm. 7. 4.
- 23 Ibid., Sm. 7. 5.
- 24 Ibid., Sm. 7. 6.
- 25 Ibid., Sm. 13. 13—
tatra snātvā ca dṛṣṭvā ca Aditiṁ deva-mātaram |
putraṁ janayate śūraṇi sarva-doṣa-vivarjitam |
Āditya-śata-saṁkāśaṁ vimānaṁ c=ādhirohati ||
- 26 Ṛgveda, I. 43. 2 ; VIII. 18. 6-7. See Macdonell, op. cit., p. 122.
- 27 Ṛgveda, ed. Max Müller, Vol. I, p. 230 ; Mbh., III. Ch.

- 13 ; Bhāgavata Purāṇa, X. 59. 38 ; 65. 6-10 ; Viṣṇu Purāṇa, V. 29. 11 and 35 and also Ch. 30.
- 28 This Prāgjyotiṣa is to be located in the Brahmaputra valley in Assam. In the course of his northern expedition Arjuna fought against Bhagadatta of Prāgjyotiṣa, who was surrounded by the warriors of Cina, Kirāta and those dwelling at the coast of the sea. See the following verse of the Mbh., II. 23. 19—
 sa Kirātaiṣ=ca Cīnaiṣ=ca vṛtaḥ Prāgjyotiṣo=’bhavat |
 anyaiṣ=ca bahubhir=yodhaiḥ sāgar-ānūpa-vāsiḥ ||
 Kirāta is some Himalayan mountaineers. See Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 22. There is a confused tradition according to which there was a Prāgjyotiṣa in West India (JAIH, Vol. III, p. 276).
- 29 Vmn., Sm. 15. 54 ; see also Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 93.
- 30 Mbh., III. 81. 78—go-sahasra-phalaṁ labhet.
- 31 This tīrtha is mentioned in the verse immediately preceding, in which Vyāsa-vana occurs.
- 32 V. S. Agrawala, Vāmana Purāṇa—a Study, p. 186.
- 33 Vmn., Sm. 15. 45-46 and 50 ; Mbh., Gitā Press ed., III. 83. 86-89. See also Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 87.
- 34 Vmn., Sm. 15. 47-49.
- 35 Matsya Purāṇa, 50. 65-67.
- 36 See below.
- 37 ASI, Vol. XIV, 101.
- 38 Census of India, 1961, Punjab, District Census Hand Book, No. 4, Karnal District, p. 13.
- 39 Loc. cit. For the māhātmya of the Phalakī-vana and the legend of the Sage Phalak, see ibid., Vol. XIII, Punjab, Part VII-B, Fairs and Festivals, pp. 15ff.
- 40 Vmn., 63. 14—Svayambhuvaṁ Madhu-vane.
- 41 Ibid., 57. 31-32.
- 42 Viṣṇu Purāṇa, I. 12. 2-4.
- 43 This legend is also narrated by Kālidāsa in the Raghuvamśa, XV. 28.

58 Kurukṣetra in the Vāmana Purāṇa

- 44 Viṣṇu Purāṇa, I. 12. 5.
- 45 Matsya Purāṇa, 13. 37.
- 46 Kūrma Purāṇa, II. 35. 9.
- 47 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 101.
- 48 Vmn., Sm. 14. 44-45 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 60.
- 49 Mbh., III. 81. 48.
- 50 Vmn., Sm. 14. 43.
- 51 V. S. Agrawala, Vāmana Purāṇa—a Study, p. 186.
For the Śīta-vana see also Punjab District Gazetteers,
Vol. VI-A, Karnal District, 1918, p. 218.
- 52 Census of India, 1961, Punjab, District Census Hand
Book, No. 4, Karnal District, p. 5. Sivana or Siwan is
a corrupt form of Seoban or Sitā-kā Ban which is
supposed to be once the jungle-home of Sītā, wife of
Rāma. See *ibid.*, p. 12.
- 53 *Ibid.*, p. 5.
- 54 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- 55 Vmn., Sm. 15. 73 ; Padma Purāṇa, I. 37. 7 ; Varāha
Purāṇa, 152. 50 ; 156. 12.
- 56 V. S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
- 57 Vmn., 23. 12 ; Sm. 11. 4.
- 58 *Ibid.*, Sm. 26. 55.
- 59 *Ibid.*, Sm. 26. 57 (see below).
- 60 *Ibid.*, Chs. 22-23 (see above).
- 61 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVII, p. 322.
- 62 Mbh., III. 25. 12—mahat Dvaita-vanam saraḥ.
- 63 See CHI, Vol. I, p. 108.
- 64 Mbh., III. 27. 2-3.
- 65 *Ibid.*, III. 27. 1.
- 66 *Ibid.*, III. 27. 2.
- 67 See Calcutta Review, 1877, p. 78 note. See also N. L.
Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
- 68 Bhargava, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
- 69 The Kāmeśvara-tīrtha was situated in the Ambu-
vana which was located close to the Śīta-vana. See
Vmn., Sm. 14. 42-44.

- 70 See below.
- 71 It is the Pṛthu-vana in which the famous Pṛthu-tīrthas were situated. See ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 91.
- 72 Loc. cit.

Chapter VI

THE DVĀRAPĀLAS¹

In Kurukṣetra, the region comprising five yojanas in all sides or twenty yojanas or about 160 miles in circuit, there were a large number of holy places, popularly counted as 360² more than a hundred of which are mentioned in the Vāmana Purāṇa. The pilgrims are advised to maintain an order in visiting the holy spots. A definite guideline in this regard is offered by the compiler of the Vāmana Purāṇa in a verse which runs as follows —

Rantukaṁ ca naro dṛṣṭvā dvāra-pālaṁ mahā-balam |
yakṣaṁ samabhivādy = aiva tīrtha-yātrāṁ samācaret ||³

The pilgrims should visit Rantuka,⁴ the dvārapāla Yakṣa, and salute him before undertaking a pilgrimage to Kurukṣetra. In the Mahābhārata this dvārapāla Yakṣa is called Macakruka (v.l. Maṅkaṇaka).⁵ The epic verse regarding this dvārapāla runs thus —

tato Macakrukaṁ rājan (v.l. Maṅkaṇakaṁ nāma)
dvārapālaṁ mahā-balam |
yakṣaṁ samabhivādy = aiva
go-sahasra-phalaṁ labhet ||⁶

Saluting the mighty dvārapāla one achieves the merit of donating one thousand cows. So in the Mahābhārata the abode of this Yakṣa is considered to be an independent tīrtha, while in the Vāmana Purāṇa this Yakṣa is regarded merely as a gate-keeper whose permission is required for entering Kurukṣetra. In course of their pilgrimage to Kurukṣetra visitors come across several other dvārapālas. As regards the second dvārapāla Yakṣa named Rantuka,⁷ whose abode is situated between the Nāga-tīrtha and Pañcanada,⁸ the Vāmana Purāṇa contains the following passage —

tato gaccheta vipr-endrā dvārapālaṃ tu Rantukam |
 tatṛ=āṣya rajanīm=ekām snātvā tīrtha-vare śubhe ||
 dvitīyaṃ pūjayet yatra dvāra-pālaṃ prayatnataḥ |⁹

The abode of dvārapāla Rantuka is thus considered to be a great tīrtha where the pilgrims are advised to halt for one night, bathe and worship the dvārapāla. In the Mahābhārata,¹⁰ this second dvārapāla is named Tarantuka and pilgrims are advised to make a night-halt there with the object of attaining the merit of donating one thousand cows. The worshipping of the Yakṣa, mentioned in the Vāmana Purāṇa, and omitted in the Mahābhārata is significant. The importance of this place as a tīrtha increased much in the days of the composition of the Vāmana Purāṇa. It is further said in the Purāṇa,¹¹ that the pilgrims should feed the Brāhmaṇas, salute them, beg pardon of the Yakṣa for their sins and request him to give them supernatural powers. Thus it is obvious that the second dvārapāla is considered to be more important than the first.

The third dvārapāla Yakṣa, Kapila by name, was posted at a place called Yakṣiṇī-tīrtha in the Mahābhārata¹² in the very neighbourhood of Rāmahrada. Kapila and his wife named Udūkhalamekhalā¹³ guard the place so that sinners cannot stay there. The verse of the Vāmana Purāṇa¹⁴ which speaks of the Kapila Yakṣa runs —

Kapilās=ca mahā-yakṣo dvāra-pālaḥ svayaṃ sthitaḥ |
 vighnaṃ karoti pāpānāṃ durgatiṃ ca prayacchati ||

The fourth dvārapāla Yakṣa, named Rantuka¹⁵ (v.l. Arantuka¹⁶ or Tarantuka¹⁷), dwells on the bank of the Sarasvatī between the Saṅginī-tīrtha (v.l. Śaṅkhinī) and the Brahmāvarta-tīrtha. From the religious point of view, the place is more important than the abode of the first dvārapāla because of its location on the bank of the Sarasvatī.¹⁸ Here the pilgrims satisfy the Yakṣa by bathing there and keeping fast and thereby they achieve their desired objects or the merit of the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice.¹⁹

In connection with Kurukṣetra there is a verse in the

Mahābhārata²⁰ which mentions a fifth dvārapāla Yakṣa called Macakruka dwelling at the Koṭi-tīrtha in the vicinity of the Sthāṇu-tīrtha or the Sannihitī²¹ (v.l. Sannihatya²²)-tīrtha. But no such dvārapāla is mentioned in the Vāmana Purāṇa possibly because of the decline of its popularity.

Cunningham²³ has taken note of four guardian Yakṣas of Kurukṣetra, viz., Ratna, Arantuka, Kapila and Macakruka and identifies their dwellings in the following order—Ratna at a place close to Pipali on the Sarasvatī in the north-east corner of Kurukṣetra, Arantuka at Ber or Baher²⁴ to the north-west of Kaithal in the north-west corner of Kurukṣetra, Kapila at Ramray, 5 miles to the south-west of Jhind in the south-west corner of Kurukṣetra and Macakruka at Sinkh, very nearly between Jhind and Panipath on the old bed of the Rakshi or Dṛṣadvatī in the south-east corner of Kurukṣetra. In support of his identification, he says that the Yakṣa-kunḍas at Baher and Sinkh and Rāmahrada and Kapila-tīrtha at Jhind are still visible.

But the epico-Purāṇic tradition mentions five dvārapāla Yakṣas in Kurukṣetra, viz., Rantuka (v.l. Mañkaṇaka or Macakruka), Rantuka, Kapila at Rāmahrada, Rantuka (v.l. Tarantuka) on the bank of the Sarasvatī and Macakruka respectively.²⁵

The identification of the abode of the third dvārapāla Yakṣa Kapila with the south-west corner of Kurukṣetra is beyond question.²⁶ The fourth dvārapāla Rantuka should be identified with Arantuka of Cunningham in the north-west corner of Kurukṣetra on the bank of the Sarasvatī. The fifth dvārapāla Macakruka being situated in the vicinity of the Sthāṇu-tīrtha must be identified with the guardian of the north-east corner of Kurukṣetra. From the order of the tīrthas of Kurukṣetra maintained in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, it is clear that the abode of the fifth Yakṣa Macakruka must be just opposite that of Kapila. In that case, the first dvārapāla Rantuka or

Mañkaṇaka or Macakruka should be identified with the guardian of the south-east corner of Kurukṣetra on the bank of the Dṛṣadvatī, but not with the guardian of the north-east corner, as done by Cunningham.²⁷ The second dvārapāla Rantuka would be somewhere on the bank of the Dṛṣadvatī.²⁸

REFERENCE

- 1 The conception of dvārapāla may be associated with that of the lokapālas or dikpālas who were originally four in number, viz., Vāsava in the east, Yama in the south, Varuṇa in the west and Kubera in the north (cf. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, p. 187—loka-pālānaṁ Yama-Varuṇa-Kubera-Vāsavānaṁ namo), though the number was increased ; cf. *Manu-smṛti*, VII. 4 —
Indr-Ānila-Yam-Ārkāṇām = Agneś = ca Varuṇasya ca |
Candra-Vitteśayoś = c = aiva mātṛā nirbhītya śāśvatīḥ ||
Also see *Amarakoṣa, Digvarga, 5 ; Sircar, *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, p. 43, note. Cf. also the Kṣetrapālas. Harikeśa Yakṣa, son of the Yakṣa King, Pūrṇabhadra, was appointed Kṣetrapāla of Kāśī by Śiva and four other Yakṣas were his assistants (*Matsya Purāṇa*, Ānandāśrama ed., Ch. 180 ; also *Purāṇa*, Vol. I, pp. 198-99).
- 2 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 90 ; also see above.
- 3 Vmn., Sm. 13.11.
- 4 V.l. Mattarṇaka ; see *Padma Purāṇa*, III. 12.7.
- 5 V. S. Agrawala (*Vāmana Purāṇa — a Study*, p. 48) has identified the dvārapāla Rantuka of Vmn., Sm. 13.11 (Venkaṭeśvara Press ed., 34.11) with the dvāra-

pāla Arantuka of Mbh., III. 81.42 (83.52 of the ed. used by Agrawala) and Arantuka of the Vāmana Purāṇa (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed., 22.51 ; but Rantuka in cr. ed., see Sm. 1.5) probably on the ground that Arantuka's name is mentioned first in the Vāmana Purāṇa. As the shrine of Arantuka is at Pṛthūdaka (cf. Mbh., III. 81.42 ; Vmn., Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed., 22.51), Agrawala says that the shrine of Rantuka is situated at Pṛthūdaka which is the starting point of pilgrimage to Kurukṣetra. However, it is difficult to agree with Agrawala on this point. The verse (Mbh., ed. used by V. S. Agrawala, III. 83.52 ; cr. ed., 81.42) is not associated with Pṛthūdaka, but Rāmahrada. The parikramā of Kurukṣetra is described systematically from Vmn., Sm. 13.11, or Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed., 34.11 (Rantuka) and Mbh., III. 81.7 (Macakruka), but not from Vmn., Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed., 22. 51, where Arantuka or Rantuka is mentioned in some other context. Moreover, there is no reason to think that Rantuka and Arantuka of the same work (Vmn.) are identical.

- 6 Mbh., III. 81.7.
- 7 V. I. Atarṇaka ; see Padma Purāṇa, III. 12.14.
- 8 Vmn., Sm. 13. 23-27.
- 9 Ibid., Sm. 13. 24-35.
- 10 Mbh., III. 81.13 —
tato gaccheta dharmajña dvāra-pālaṁ Tarantukam |
tat = oṣya rajanīm = ekāṁ go-sahasra-phalaṁ labhet ||
- 11 Vmn., Sm. 13. 25-26.
- 12 Mbh., III. 81.19.
- 13 See the Section on Rāmahrada below. It is a kind of household article used for the preparation of Soma juice in sacrifices (R̥gveda, I. 28. 1-4). It is also the name of the tree (ibid., 6). Possibly the wood of the said tree was used in the making of the article. It seems that Udūkhalamekhalā was associated with

this tree or the sacrifice.

- 14 Vmn., Sm. 13.44. In the Padma Purāṇa the abode of this dvārapāla is called Pampā, though his name is not mentioned ; see III. 12. 22-23.
- 15 Vmn., Sm. 14.37. In the Padma Purāṇa (III. 12.53) this dvārapāla is called Savarṇaka. V. S. Agrawala called him Pañcaka (Vāmana Purāṇa — a Study, p. 48) after Vmn., Sm. 1.14 (Veñkaṭeśvara Press ed., 22.60).
- 16 Mbh., III. 81.42.
- 17 Ibid., Āryaśāstra ed., III. 83.52.
- 18 Vmn., Sm. 14.37.
- 19 Ibid., Sm. 14.38 — labhate kāmikaṁ phalam ; Mbh., III. 81.42 — Agniṣṭoma-phalaṁ labhet.
- 20 Mbh., III. 81. 171.
- 21 Ibid., III. 81.169ff.; also see Padma Purāṇa, III. 13.92.
- 22 Vmn., Sm. 28.6.
- 23 ASI, Vol. XIV, pp. 89-90.
- 24 It is on the Sarasvatī, 36 miles to the west of Thanesar, and 22 miles to the west of Pehoa. This place is situated in the midst of a forest of jujube trees (badarī) ; vide ASI, Vol. XIV, pp. 98-99.
- 25 See above.
- 26 See Rāmahrada below. V. S. Agrawala speaks of it as the southern point on the Parikramā-mārga (Vāmana Purāṇa — a Study, p. 48).
- 27 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 89.
- 28 V. S. Agrawala thinks that the location of the second dvārapāla would be on the eastern side of Kurukṣetra (op. cit, p. 48).

Chapter VII

HOLY SPOTS

(i) Between the First and Second Dvārapālas

Between the first and second Dvārapālas there are nine holy places, viz., Aditi-vana, Viṣṇu-sthāna, Vimala, Pāriplava, Sambhava, Pṛthivī, Dakṣāśrama, Daśāśvamedha and Nāga-tīrtha.

1. Aditi-vana

After saluting the first dvārapāla Yakṣa, the pilgrim proceeds to the Aditi-vana and pays homage to Aditi at the spot of her penance. This tīrtha is discussed above in connection with the holy forests of Kurukṣetra. The chapter¹ of the Mahābhārata dealing with the tīrthas of Kurukṣetra, does not mention it, probably because the forest is referred to at several other places in the epic.

2. Viṣṇu-sthāna

The Purāṇic verse² which refers to the Viṣṇu-sthāna (v.1. Savana³ or Satata) runs as follows :

tato gaccheta vipr-endrā Viṣṇu-sthānam = anuttamam ।
Satataṁ nāma vikhyātaṁ yatra sannihito Hariḥ ॥

The Viṣṇu-sthāna is used as a proper name in the Baṅgabāsi ed. of the Vāmana Purāṇa; but it is a connotative term (Viṣṇoḥ sthānam) in the critical ed.⁴ following the epic verse.⁵ Moreover, the place is called Satata in the epic and it is adopted in the Baṅgabāsi ed. of the Purāṇa,⁶ but changed to Savana in the critical ed. It seems that, in the centuries before Christ, this place was not called Savana, and Viṣṇu-sthāna was not used as a proper name. It is said in the Mahābhārata that a man achieves the merit

of the Aśvamedha sacrifice and attains Viṣṇu-loka by bathing here and worshipping Viṣṇu.⁷ This eulogy is absent in the Vāmana Purāṇa possibly owing to the decrease in its importance in the post-epic period.⁸

3. Vimala

The Vimala-tīrtha is mentioned in the Vāmana Purāṇa between the Viṣṇu-sthāna and the Pāriplava-tīrtha⁹; but no such tīrtha is located in the Mahābhārata in this area.¹⁰ It seems that this tīrtha was a post-epic development. It is the abode of Vimalaśvara, Hari and Baladeva. The pilgrims bathe here, see Vimalaśvara and thereby attain heaven and Rudra-loka.^{10a}

On the day of Ekādaśī, the pilgrims see Hari and Baladeva seated together and get rid of the sins.¹¹ This place is identical with a tīrtha of the same name mentioned in the Matsya Purāṇa.¹² A bath there enables one to attain Rudra-loka and a fast there destroys the sins of seven lives and paves the way to the abode of Śiva.

4-5. Pāriplava and Sambhava

At the confluence of the Kauśikī and the Dṛṣadvatī, there were two holy spots, viz., Pāriplava and Sambhava which are described in the Vāmana Purāṇa in two verses.¹³ The first is the abode of Brahman, and by bathing there and paying homage to the lord, the pilgrims attain the merit of the Brahma-yajña and being pure attain heaven. Pāriplava in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa¹⁴ denotes the recitation of certain stories at stated intervals during the period of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. It is not impossible that, in the remote past, the Pāriplava-tīrtha was associated with the Aśvamedha sacrifice performed by some king.

The confluence of the Kauśikī was considered holy from the hoary past;¹⁵ but the name Sambhava was added

to the place possibly in the late medieval period. That is why the tīrtha is not mentioned in the Mahābhārata. It is said in the Vāmana Purāṇa that one attains emancipation by having a dip at Sambhava.¹⁶

6. Dharaṇī

From the confluence of the Kauśikī, the pilgrims go to the Dharaṇī-tīrtha (v.1. Pṛthivī-tīrtha) which is described in a single line in the Mahābhārata¹⁷ and in one verse in the Baṅgabāsi ed.¹⁸ of the Vāmana Purāṇa, but in two verses in the critical ed.¹⁹ of the latter work.

Regarding the merit of this tīrtha, it is said in the critical ed. of the Purāṇa that this tīrtha is the destroyer of all sins and anybody bathing there attains final liberation.²⁰ The next verse which is absent in the Mahābhārata and is a modification of the stanza in the Baṅgabāsi ed. of the Purāṇa is the following—

Dharaṇyām = aparādhāni kṛtāni^{20a} puruṣeṇa vai |

sarvāṇi kṣamate tasya^{20b} snāta-mātrasya dehinah ||

Thus according to the critical ed. of the Vāmana Purāṇa, all offences committed in this world by a man are forgiven the moment he takes his bath there. But the Baṅgabāsi ed. says that there is a forest after the confluence, in the midst of which there is a pool, and one bathing there becomes liberated from all sins committed previously. The Baṅgabāsi ed. does not even mention the name of this tīrtha. It seems that this holy spot lost its old glory and, in the age of the compilation of the Vāmana Purāṇa, became a deserted area although its sanctity was not totally lost. In the critical ed. of the Vāmana Purāṇa, the epic tradition is followed and an attempt is made there to eulogize the tīrtha further.²¹

The Pṛthivī-tīrtha was probably named after Pṛthivī (i.e., the world) who is sometimes regarded as the wife of the first king Pṛthu.²²

7. Dakṣāśrama

• The Dakṣāśrama is placed in the Vāmana Purāṇa between the Dharaṇī-tīrtha and the Śālūkinī-tīrtha.²³ But no such tīrtha is mentioned in the Mahābhārata between the two.²⁴ It developed perhaps in the post-epic age and was named probably after the sage Dakṣa.²⁵ Cunningham identifies the Dakṣāśrama with Dachor on the Cholang river, 24 miles to the south-south-west of Thanesar.²⁶

The Dakṣāśrama is the abode of Dakṣeśvara Śiva and the pilgrims visiting this tīrtha and seeing the god attain the merit of the Aśvamedha sacrifice.²⁷

8. Śālūkinī (v.l. Daśāśvamedha)

From the Dakṣāśrama, the pilgrims go to the Śālūkinī-tīrtha according to the following line of the Vāmana Purāṇa²⁸ —

tataḥ Śālūkinīm gatvā snātvā tīrthe dvij=ottamāḥ ।

This line is adopted from the following verse of the Mahābhārata²⁹ —

tataḥ Śālūkinīm gatvā tīrtha-sevī nar=ādhipa ॥

Daśāśvamedhike snātvā ।

Thus originally it was called •Daśāśvamedha on the bank of the river Śālūkinī. The name is omitted in the Vāmana Purāṇa probably because there were other tīrthas of the same name and the mention of the same term to indicate different spots might raise confusion. The river Śālūkinī is not mentioned in the list of holy rivers of Kurukṣetra,³⁰ even in the list of the rivers rising from the foot of the Himālaya.³¹ Probably it was a small branch of the Dr̥ṣadvatī or some other river of Kurukṣetra.

As regards the glory of this tīrtha it is said in the Mahābhārata that bathing there is as meritorious as the donation of one thousand cows.³² But, in the medieval period, more glory was associated with it by the Brāhmaṇas. Hari and Hara are united here and the

pilgrims are advised to worship the united form for removing their sins and obtaining the heaven of one's own choice.⁸³

9. Sarpirdadhi

The Sarpirdadhi-tīrtha, close to the abode of the second dvārapāla Rantuka, was a nāga-tīrtha in the early centuries of the Christian era or even before that. But the name is a later invention and that is evident from the following line of the Vāmana Purāṇa,⁸⁴ which is adapted from the Mahābhārata⁸⁵—

Sarpirdadhi (v.l. sarpa-devīm) samāsādya
nāgānām tīrtham = uttamam |

According to the Mahābhārata, the goddess of snakes is established there and the pilgrims visiting her achieve the merit of the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice. But the Vāmana Purāṇa states that the pilgrims become free from the fear of snakes by bathing there. V. S. Agrawala identifies this holy place with modern Safidon.⁸⁶

(ii) Between the Second and Third Dvārapālas

There are six holy places between the second and third dvārapālas, viz., Pañcanada, Aśvinī, Varāha, Soma, Ekahamṣa and Kṛtaśauca.

1. Pañcanada

Nada means river; but in the present context Pañcanada indicates five pools made by Rudra (pañcanadāś=ca Rudreṇa kṛtā°).¹ These pools, as mentioned in the Vāmana Purāṇa² were meant to terrify the demons, though no such explanation is given in the Mahābhārata. The epic narrates the Pañcanada-tīrtha briefly in a verse which runs as follows—

ṭataḥ Pañcanadaṁ gatvā niyato niyatāśanaḥ ।

koṭi-tīrtham = upaspr̥śya hayamedha-phalaṁ labhet ॥³

Thus at Pañcanada, there was a Koṭi-tīrtha and bathing there one achieves the merit of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. The sanctity associated with this Koṭi-tīrtha increased in later days and the compiler of the Vāmana Purāṇa wrote three verses⁴ to eulogize it. This tīrtha is so named, because a crore of tīrthas assembled together in it.⁵ The implication is perhaps that its merit is equal to that of a crore of other tīrthas. It is the abode of Koṭiśvara Śiva and anybody bathing in the five pools and visiting Śiva achieves the merit of five great sacrifices.⁶ The old characteristics⁷ of the tīrtha also survived in the medieval period. Thus Viṣṇu in the form of Vāmana is established there by the side of Śiva, and it is said that the pilgrim may get the merit of the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice there.

2. Aśvini

This tīrtha associated with the twin Aśvins, the physicians of the gods, is situated between the Pañcanada-tīrtha and the Varāha-tīrtha of Kurukṣetra. The Vāmana Purāṇa describes it briefly in a single verse.⁸ The self-controlled and faithful persons after visiting it acquires beauty and attains renown and fortune. The Mahābhārata states that here one becomes beautiful.⁹

Regarding the youth-and-beauty giving capacity of the Aśvins there is a legend in the Mahābhārata.¹⁰ Once the Aśvins found in the forest Cyavana's wife Sukanyā who was extremely handsome, but was dressed poorly. Cyavana was old and devoid of kāma. So they asked her to select any one of them as her husband. But she expressed her inability as she was devotedly attached to her husband. With a view to testing the sincerity of Sukanyā, they asked her to find out her husband after their bath in the pool near the hermitage. The Aśvins

and Cyavana entered the water and came out simultaneously as handsome youths of the same age. But Sukanyā was able to distinguish between god and man and found out who Cyavana was. The Āsṛins were pleased. Thus Cyavana got back his youth and beauty by the grace of the Āsṛins.

3. Varāha

The Varāha-tīrtha which is next to the Āsṛinī-tīrtha is proclaimed by Viṣṇu.¹¹ It is the abode of Viṣṇu, seated on Garuḁa, on the bank of the Sarasvatī.¹² The antiquity of the tīrtha is indicated by the Mahābhārata which says that, previously, the Varāha form of Viṣṇu was established there.¹³ Cunningham identifies the Varāha-tīrtha with modern Barah.¹⁴ The merit of the pilgrims here is the attainment of final liberation or the effect of the performance of the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice.¹⁵

4. Soma

There are many Soma-tīrthas throughout India,¹⁶ and the Soma-tīrtha under discussion is situated between the Varāha-tīrtha and the Ekahamṣa-tīrtha in Kurukṣetra.¹⁷ This pilgrim spot is mentioned in the Mahābhārata also and there the spot is identified with Jayantī.¹⁸

The legend associated with the tīrtha is that in the remote past Soma (i.e., the Moon) was able to get rid of the disease he was suffering from by the performance of the austerities at this place.¹⁹ The legend is elaborated in the Skandā Purāṇa.²⁰ The twenty-seven daughters of Dakṣa were married to Soma; but he was very much fond of Rohiṇī and neglected her sisters who informed their father of this ill-treatment of their husband and sought his permission to cut their life short. Dakṣa consoled his daughters and blamed his son-in-law who then promised to observe his duty to all his wives equally:

But Soma failed to keep his promise and Dakṣa cursed Soma —

Yasmāt pāpa na me vākyam tvayā dharma-samanvitam ।

Kṛtaṁ tasmāt kṣaya-vyādhis=tvām grasiṣyati dāruṇaḥ ॥²¹

Soma lost his valour. He then travelled from one tīrtha to another. In course of his pilgrimage he met the sage Romaka who advised him to worship the Śiva-liṅga. Śiva was pleased with the worship of Soma and settled the dispute on the terms that Soma would decrease in the dark fortnight gradually in honour of the words of Dakṣa and again get back his valour in the bright fortnight. Soma also promised that he would perform his duty to his wives impartially. Soma, then, with the permission of Śiva, established liṅgas at different places which developed as pilgrim spots due to their association with Śiva and Soma. This is the origin of the Soma-tīrthas.²²

At the Soma-tīrtha in Kurukṣetra lord Someśvara is established. By virtue of bathing there and worshipping the lord, the pilgrims obtain the merit of the Rajsūya sacrifice, become free from diseases and faults, reach Soma-loka and enjoy life eternally.²³ Two liṅgas called Bhūteśvara and Jvālāmāleśvara are established there and by adoring them one becomes free from the cycle of birth.²⁴ The spot of Jvālāmāleśvara is identified by Cunningham with Jhind.²⁵

5-6. Ekahaṁsa and Kṛtaśauca

The Ekahaṁsa-tīrtha which the pilgrims visit with the object of obtaining the merit of gift of a thousand cows²⁶ is identified by Cunningham with modern Dhundhi.²⁷

The Kṛtaśauca-tīrtha situated between the Ekahaṁsa-tīrtha and Muñjavaṭa²⁸ is an abode of the Nṛsimha form of Viṣṇu,²⁹ the Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva³⁰ and the goddess Simhikā.³¹

(iii) Between the Third and Fourth Dvārapālas

There are nine holy places between the third and fourth dvārapāla Yakṣas. These are Rāmahrada, Vamśamūla, Kāyāsodhana, Lokoddhāra, Śrī-tīrtha, Kapila-hrada, Sūrya-tīrtha, Bhavānī-vana and the Saṅgini-tīrtha.

1. Rāmahrada

In the opinion of Cunningham,¹ the holy pool called Rāmahrada is at least as old as the Ṛgveda itself. He infers that Śāryaṇāvata is another name of the tank. The ancient seer Dadhyañc² who got a horse-head from the Aśvins, as said in the Ṛgveda,³ had been the terror of the Asuras. Later on, Indra, inquiring what had become of him and whether anything of him had been left behind, was told that the horse's head existed somewhere. After a thorough search the head was found in the lake Śāryaṇāvata⁴ on the skirts of Kurukṣetra.

The origin and antiquity of the lake being called Rāmahrada may be traced in the Mahābhārata. It is said in the epic that at this place five lakes were made and filled with blood by Bhārgava Rāma after the annihilation of the Kṣatriyas.⁵ The origin is narrated at some other place in the epic⁶ as follows —

sa teṣu rudhirāmbhaṣṣu hradeṣu krodha-mūrcchitaḥ |
pitṛiṇ santarpayāmāsa rudhireṇ = eti naḥ śrutam ||

Thus it is an old tradition and the narrator of the epic heard the gāthā from some other source. Though in the Vana-parvan it is said that the five lakes were made by Rāma (81.22), in the Ādiparvan (2.5) it is said that Rāma offered tarpaṇa with the blood of the Kṣatriyas in the lakes full of blood-like water (rudhirāmbhaṣṣu hradeṣu). If it be so, then the lakes were made before Rāma and these became associated with the tradition of Rāma afterwards.

The Mahābhārata⁷ explains why Rāma uprooted the

Kṣatriyas. Once Kārttavīrya, king of Anūpadeśa⁸ visited the hermitage of Jamadagni⁹ and in the absence of his heroic sons, the king destroyed the trees of the hermitage and stole cows.¹⁰ When Rāma, son of Jamadagni, came to know it, he killed Kārttavīrya ; but in his absence, the sons of Kārttavīrya killed Jamadagni. On his return Rāma found his father killed by the sons of Kārttavīrya and became overwhelmed with grief. Later on, he killed the sons and associates of Kārttavīrya and also other Kṣatriyas for twentyone times and filled up the five lakes of Samantapañcaka with their blood.¹¹ Then Rāma propitiated the forefathers with tarpaṇa offerings in the lakes. His ancestors being highly satisfied with his devotion and valour, desired to grant him a boon. Rāma longed for freedom from sin incurred by killing the Kṣatriyas out of anger. He also prayed to them to make the lakes famous throughout the world as pilgrim spots. Rāma's desires were fulfilled.¹²

The eulogy of Rāmahrada is associated with its origin. Rāma's forefathers granted the boon that anybody who propitiates his forefathers after taking a dip in the lakes, will achieve fulfilment of desires and aspirations and eternal residence in heaven. If any pilgrim bathes in these lakes and worships Rāma established there, he gains much gold.¹³

In the Vāmana Purāṇa, the Rāmahrada, previously known as Brahmasaras,¹⁴ is said to be a holy place of Kurukṣetra and one of her boundary marks.¹⁵ It is sometimes mentioned to identify Kurukṣetra itself,¹⁶ because of its growing importance as a popular tīrtha. In the said Purāṇa Rāmahrada is used in singular,¹⁷ but it is used in plural in the Mahābhārata.¹⁸ This is perhaps due to the fact that in the days of the composition of the epic the term indicated the five lakes of Rāma, while in the age of compilation of the Vāmana Purāṇa the term is used to denote the place without any emphasis on its connota-

tion. As regards the origin and antiquity of the Rāmahrada, the Vāmana Purāṇa¹⁹ followed the epic tradition with a slight modification.²⁰ The Purāṇa does not state the reason why Rāma uprooted the Kṣatriyas, for which we have to depend on the Mahābhārata.²¹ In the Skanda Purāṇa, the Rāmahrada and the legend associated with it are connected with the Hātakeśvara-tīrtha.²²

The Rāmahrada of Kurukṣetra is identified with a place called Ramray which is located near the south-west corner of the Cakra called Samantapañcaka or Kurukṣetra and 5 miles to the south-west of Jhind.²³ The possibility of some Rāmahrada 17 miles to the south-west of Thanesar cannot be ruled out.^{23a}

In the vicinity of the Rāmahrada there were the Muñjavaṭa, the abode of Śiva and the dwelling of Kapila the great dvārapāla Yakṣa and his wife the Yakṣiṇī Udūkhalamekhalā²⁴ by name.²⁵ The Muñjavaṭa is associated with Mahādeva²⁶ or Sthāṇu²⁷ and, by fasting there for a night, the pilgrims attain Gāṇapatya or the qualities of Gaṇeśa.²⁸

The Kūrma Purāṇa says that Mahādeva is established there for the welfare of all, including believers and non-believers. As a snake rejects his old skin, so a pious man can be free from his sins here quickly.²⁹ The very spot where the dvārapāla was established is called Puṣkara in the Vāmana Purāṇa. The pilgrims are advised to pay a visit to this Puṣkara-tīrtha of Rāma after (tataḥ) seeing the abode of the Yakṣi near the Muñjavaṭa. The passage concerned runs —

Puṣkaraṇ=ca tato gatvā abhyarcya pitṛ-devatāḥ ||

Jāmadagnyena Rāmeṇa āhr̥taṁ tan = mahātmanā |³⁰

This passage is modified from the Mahābhārata³¹ in which the reading of the first line is —

Sammite Puṣkarāṇāṇ=ca snātv=ārcya pitṛ-devatāḥ |

The difference in reading is caused most probably by the development of some pilgrim spot named Puṣkara in

the vicinity of Rāmahrada in the post-epic period. In some other context there is a tirtha called Apasarpaṇa³² situated on the bank of the Raupyā.³³ The holy spot called Puṣkara may be identical with Apasarpaṇa.

In that case, the pilgrim spot called Puṣkara in the post-epic literature had its origin in the pre-epic period. It is not quite impossible that what is called Puṣkara in the present context is nothing but the Rāmahrada. It is said in the Mahābhārata as well as in the Purāṇas, that this Puṣkara was founded by Rāma who founded also the Rāmahrada.³⁴ A king doing all the performances here attains the merit of the Aśvamedha sacrifice.³⁵ It is further said about the merit of this place that if anybody gives his daughter in marriage at this place in the month of Kārttika, the gods become pleased with him and fulfil his desire.³⁶

In the vicinity of the Rāmahrada, the dvārapāla Yakṣa and his wife keep watch over the gate of Kurukṣetra and create troubles to the sinners and produce misery to them. In this respect there is a traditional story.

Once the Yakṣiṇī saw a lady, the mother of a son born in a sinful land. Beating a drum at night, the Yakṣī recited to her the following verses —

Yugandhare dadhi prāśya uṣitvā c=Ācyuta-sthale ।

tadvad Bhūtālaye snātvā saputrā vastum=icchasi ॥

divā mayā te kathitaṁ rātrau bhakṣyāmi niścitaṁ ।³⁷

Thus to take curd in Yugandhara,³⁸ to live in the Acyuta region and to bathe in Bhūtālaya are considered to be sinful and any person practising these sinful acts is not allowed to stay at this spot even for one night.

The first two lines of the above passage are adopted from the Mahābhārata³⁹ with very insignificant modification (icchasi in place of arhasi). The last portion of the speech of the Yakṣī, given differently in the Mahābhārata runs as follows —

eka-rātram = uṣitv = eha dvitīyaṁ yadi vatsyasi |

etad = vai te divā vṛttam rātrau vṛttam = ato = 'nyathā || 40

The Yakṣi warned the pilgrims not to stay there for more than one night. If anybody stays there for the second night, he has to suffer much and find the opposite to what he meets by day. The passage perhaps refers to the poor socio-economic condition of Kurukṣetra.⁴¹ Here is an allusion to bloody sacrifices, probably human sacrifices, which caused terror in the minds of the people.⁴² The origin of this legend is to be found in a much earlier literary tradition. The narrator of the epic story says that he simply reproduces the verse uttered by the Yakṣi. If the story at all reflects the socio-economic condition of Kurukṣetra, it was of an age much earlier than the second century B.C.

The next portion of the story of the Yakṣi and the lady was invented by the compiler of the Purāṇa with the object of giving much importance on the rites and rituals to be performed in this holy place. When the lady prayed to the Yakṣi to be gracious to her, the latter said that she would be pure and attain heaven by taking bath in the Sarasvatī⁴³ during solar eclipse.⁴⁴

2.4. Vamśamūlaka, Kāyaśodhana and Lokoddhāra

From the Rāmahrada the pilgrims go to the Vamśamūlaka-tīrtha which is identified with a holy spot at Barasola,⁴⁵ with the object of salvation of their family.⁴⁶

The Kāyaśodhana-tīrtha, as the name suggests, is visited by the pilgrims to attain physical purification and thereby to make themselves free from rebirth.⁴⁷ This is the last of the tīrthas to be visited by the Siddhas.⁴⁸ It is identified with modern Kosoyan.⁴⁹

In the Lokoddhāra-tīrtha the pilgrims prostrate (praṇipātena prasādyā) before Viṣṇu and Śiva who are perpetually present there.⁵⁰

5-6. Śrītīrtha-Śālagrāma and Kapilahrada

The pilgrim spot named Śrītīrtha⁵¹ or Śrītīrtha-Śālagrāma⁵² (v.l. Śāligrāma⁵³) was originally a devī-tīrtha. This is why it is called Śrītīrtha in the Mahābhārata. But in later times Śālagrāma was added to the name. Śālagrāma is the sacred stone in which Hari is contemplated.⁵⁴ The goddess Mahādevī and the god Viṣṇu are established here. The pilgrims visit the goddess who grants them her constant presence,⁵⁵ and lord Viṣṇu who releases them from sins and takes them to Viṣṇuloka.⁵⁶ Prahlāda visited this tīrtha and worshipped the deities.⁵⁷ It is auspicious to bathe here on the Caturdaśī-tithi of the month of Caitra.^{57a} The texts of the Vāmana Purāṇa are confusing in respect of the deity. In the critical edition, devī is used in place of deva of the Baṅgabāśī ed.⁵⁸ There is another Śālagrāma-tīrtha⁵⁹ at the source of the Gaṇḍakī,⁶⁰ where the goddess Mahādevī is worshipped. But it cannot be associated with Kurukṣetra.

The Kapila-hrada is a pitṛ-tīrtha and is an abode of Mahādeva. The name comes after Kapilā,⁶¹ 'the brown cow'. Mahādeva is placed there as the embodiment of Kapila.⁶² In the Mahābhārata⁶³ this tīrtha is mentioned; but Śiva is not associated with it. The Kapilahrada is identified with a pilgrim-spot at modern Kailat.⁶⁴ The pilgrims visiting the place achieve the merit of donating one thousand Kapilās or brown cows and attain emancipation.⁶⁵

7-9. Sūrya-tīrtha, Bhavānī-vana and Saṅginī-tīrtha

The Sūrya-tīrtha of Kurukṣetra is described in the Vāmana Purāṇa in five lines,⁶⁶ the first three of which are copied from the Mahābhārata.⁶⁷ This spot may be identified with Saṅjanā, about 10 miles south-west from Kaithal.⁶⁸

The holy spot next to the Sūrya-tīrtha is Bhavānī-

vana. It is described in the Purāṇa⁶⁹ in one verse which is adopted from the Mahābhārata⁷⁰ though what was called the abode of the cows (gavāṁ bhavanam) in the epic is called Bhavānīvana in the Purāṇa.⁷¹ Go-bhavana is identified with modern Gohanā.⁷² There is a legend⁷³ associated with this tīrtha. Once Brahman performed sacrifices here and offered surabhis as dakṣiṇā. The cows were in the neither world and they wandered through a hollow at the mouth of which Gaṇapati was stationed. A self-controlled man after seeing Gaṇapati gets all his desires fulfilled.

The Saṅginī-tīrtha (Śaṅkhinī-tīrtha)⁷⁴ is a devī-tīrtha of Kurukṣetra. The merits that may be achieved here are liberation (mukti-samāśraya),⁷⁵ beauty, inexhaustible fortune and abundant enjoyment with sons and daughters,⁷⁶ and great power.⁷⁷ This pilgrim spot was probably related with the legend of the sons of Kratudhvaja and the Śaṅkhinī. The legend⁷⁸ runs as follows. With the object of acquiring the status of Indra, the seven illustrious sons of Kratudhvaja were practising severe penance. In his fear, Indra sent Putanā, the celestial nymph to their hermitage. She was bathing in a river near the hermitage. The seven brothers came there for bathing, saw her and being excited discharged the seed which was drank by a Śaṅkhinī. She was caught by a fisherman. The sons of Kratudhvaja took her and let her off into their own tank. In course of time, she gave birth to seven sons. They are the Maruts.

(iv) Between the Fourth and Fifth Dvārapālas

There were more than fifty pilgrim spots situated between the fourth and fifth dvārapālas. Excepting Pṛthūdaka and Sthānu, all of them were minor holy spots.

1. Brahmāvarta

Two Brahmāvarta-tīrthas are mentioned in the

Vāmana Purāṇa,¹ but the Mahābhārata² mentions only one of them. It is possible that there is a mistake in the Vāmana Purāṇa.³ The Brahmāvarta-tīrtha may be identified with modern Bramahdat.⁴ Bathing at this place a man attains the knowledge of Brahman and quits the body at his own will.⁵ There are other Brahmāvartas also, e.g., one identified with Brahmanagāma,⁶ two miles from Hatanora and another⁷ identified with the Brahma-tīrtha near Kasrol on the southern bank of the Narmadā.⁸ But these places have no connection with Kurukṣetra.

2. Sūtīrthaka

By visiting Sūtīrthaka and bathing there the pilgrims achieve the merit of the Aśvamedha sacrifice and eternal pleasure for the pitṛs.⁹

3. Kāmeśvara

The Kāmeśvara-tīrtha¹⁰ (v.l. Kāśīśvara¹¹ or Kośeśvara¹²) is said in the Baṅgabāsi ed. of the Vāmana Purāṇa to be situated in Avanti;¹³ but it is in the Ambu-vana according to the critical ed. of the same work.¹⁴ Avanti or the Ujjain region has, however, nothing to do with Kurukṣetra. The god established at the Kāmeśvara-tīrtha is Śiva and he is said to possess the power of curing diseases.¹⁵ There is another holy spot here called Mātṛ-tīrtha, a bath wherein ensures progeny and limitless fortune.¹⁶ Cunningham¹⁷ identifies the Kāmeśvara-tīrtha with Kāmōda, a small village in the Kāmyaka-vana. There is the shrine of Kāmeśvara Mahādeva with two brick ghāṭs and two brick temples. A small brick cell there is now called 'Draupadī-kā Bhāṇḍār' where Draupadī is said to have prepared dinner for her husbands.

4. Svānulomāyana

Svānulomāyana¹⁸ (v.l. Śvānalomāpaha¹⁹ or Śvavilomāpaha²⁰) is a holy place where the pilgrims have to remove their hair by Prāṇāyāma. There is another pilgrim spot at the same place called Daśāśvamedhika, by visiting which the pilgrims attain mokṣa²¹ or the merit of ten Aśvamedha sacrifices.²²

5. Mānuṣa (v.l. Mṛga²³)

The term Mānuṣa occurs in two Ṛgvedic hymns. The first of them states that Agni gives welfare to the sacrifice of Mānuṣa, and is the ruler of Mānuṣa.²⁴

In the second he is invoked at Mānuṣa in the region of Dṛṣadvatī, Āpayā and Sarasvatī.²⁵ The place was named possibly after Manu.²⁶

The legend of a hunter and the black deer associated with this tīrtha is referred to briefly in the Mahābhārata.²⁷ The pre-epic development of the tīrtha is probably suggested by the fact that the legend is described by Pulastya to Yudhiṣṭhira even before the Bhārata War.

The epic legend associated with the Mānuṣa-tīrtha, the sight of which makes one free from sins,²⁸ is elaborated in the Purāṇas.²⁹ Some black deer shot by the arrow of the hunters were transformed into human beings after they had immersed themselves in the lake at this tīrtha. The hunters came there in search of the deer and asked them about the animals. They replied that they themselves were the deer and that by virtue of the tīrtha they became human beings. Then the hunters bathed in the lake, became pure and went to heaven.

As regards the eulogy of this tīrtha, the Mahābhārata states that a brahmacārin after bathing here becomes free from sin and worthy of going to heaven. The Purāṇa says that even the listening of the legend with devotion leads to emancipation.³⁰ King Triśaṅku got rid of his

Caṇḍālahood after bathing here.³¹ The Mānuṣa-tīrtha is situated between the abode of the fourth and fifth dvārapālas and one krośa away from the Āpagā river.³² According to Bhargava, Mānuṣa, now a village called Mānas, is situated $3\frac{1}{8}$ miles north-west of Kaithal.³³

6. Brahmodumbara

At the Brahmodumbara-tīrtha, the exalted region of Brahman,³⁴ there were seven holy pools associated with seven Brāhmaṇa sages—Bharadvāja, Gautama, Jamadagni, Kaśyapa, Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣṭha and Atri. Anybody bathing in these ponds attains the merit of performing seven Soma sacrifices and also the heaven of Brahman. The pilgrims feed here the Brāhmaṇas and visit the gods for the satisfaction of their deceased forefathers.³⁵

There is another pilgrim spot at the Brahmodumbara-tīrtha called Kapiṣṭhala³⁶ (v.1. Kapilakedāra³⁷), possibly a corrupt reading of Kapiṣṭhala. There is every possibility that the place was named after the sage Kapiṣṭhala³⁸ who was the founder of a gotra and whose teachings were incorporated by Rṣabha in his work which was consulted by Varāhamihira.³⁹ Kapiṣṭhala is the same as Arrian's Kambistholoi,⁴⁰ Varāhamihira's Kapiṣṭhala⁴¹ and Al-Bīrūnī's Kavital.⁴² There is also a belief that the spot was founded by Yudhiṣṭhira to commemorate his victory over the Kauravas.⁴³

In course of time the place became associated with monkeys. Etymologically speaking, Kapiṣṭhala means the abode of monkeys. To the east of Kaithal, the possible site of ancient Kapiṣṭhala,⁴⁴ there is a mound called Añjikā Tilā where Añjanā, mother of Hanumat, the monkey god, is believed to have given birth to her son.⁴⁵

The god of this place is called Vṛddhakedāra. Bathing here and worshipping Rudra along with Daṇḍin one acquires the power of invisibility and enjoys pleasure in

the domain of Śiva.⁴⁶ This tīrtha is equated with the great Kedāra-tīrtha. He who performs tarpaṇa here, sips three culukas of water and bows down to the Lord of the gods, obtains the merit of visiting Kedāra.⁴⁷ The fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Caitra is very auspicious for the performance of religious sacrifices at this place.⁴⁸ The Kapiṣṭhala-tīrtha is identified with modern Kaithal⁴⁹ in Karnal District.⁵⁰ According to Al-Bīrūnī, it was 10 farsakh⁵¹ away from Thanesar.⁵² But Bhargava distinguished Kapila-Kedāra from Kapiṣṭhala and identified the former with Silokheḍā, two miles south-west of Kaithal.⁵³

7. Kalasī

In the Purāṇic list⁵⁴ the Kalasī-tīrtha stands between Brahmodumbara and Saraka ; but in the epic list⁵⁵ it is placed between Saraka and Anyajanman. It is a devī-tīrtha. On the bank of the pool there is the goddess Durgā also called Kātyāyanī, Bhadrā, Nidrā, Māyā and Sanātani.⁵⁶ Having bathed in the pool and seen the goddess, the pilgrims overcome the difficulties of worldly life.⁵⁷ The Mahābhārata says that one achieves here the merit of the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice.⁵⁸ There was one Kalasī-grāma where king Menander was born. But it was far away in the Yavana country and cannot be associated with Kalasī in Kurukṣetra.⁵⁹ Cunningham identifies this tīrtha with modern Kalasī.⁶⁰

8. Saraka

The Saraka-tīrtha, which is placed between Kalasī and Anyajanman in the Vāmana Purāṇa,⁶¹ but between Brahmodumbara and Kalasī in the Mahābhārata,⁶² is situated on the bank of the Sarasvatī.

There is a legend regarding the origin of this tīrtha

in the Āitareya Brāhmaṇa.⁶³ Once the sages performed a sātra on the bank of the Sarasvatī. Kavaṣa who was the son of a female slave but seated among the sages, was driven out by them and left for a sandy desert where he might die of thirst. But Kavaṣa praised the waters in a hymn of the Ṛgveda,⁶⁴ and the Sarasvatī came rushing towards the place where he stood and surrounded it. Henceforth the spot came to be called Parisāraka. In later days it became famous as Saraka on the Sarasvatī.

There is a visible image of Śiva⁶⁵ and a crore of Rudras are established in a well (kūpa) at the centre of the tīrtha.⁶⁶ It was so important that three crores of tīrthas were believed to be united in it.⁶⁷ One who bathes in the pool and worships the crore of Rudras become free from all blemishes.⁶⁸ Paying a visit to the visible Śiva, the pilgrims attain Śiva-loka.⁶⁹

The other holy spots of Saraka, namely, Idāspada (v.1. Ilāspada),⁷⁰ Kedāra and Kimrūpa are called Ilāspada, Kimdāna and Kimjapya⁷¹ respectively in the Mahābhārata.⁷² The origin of the Ilāspada-tīrtha may be found in the Ṛgveda.⁷³ It is named most probably after Ilā, the ancestress of the Lunar dynasty.⁷⁴ The earlier name of it was, according to Bhargava,⁷⁵ Vivasvat Sadana. The Ilāspada-tīrtha possesses five-fold merit, viz., destruction of the fear of sins, emancipation of the pilgrims by a mere sight of it, removal of calamity, fulfilment of desired objects and the merit of the Vājapeya sacrifice.⁷⁶ The Kedāra-tīrtha destroys all sins and by bathing in the pool here, the pilgrims obtain the merit of all gifts.⁷⁷ At Kimrūpa the merit of the performance of all sacrifices may be achieved.⁷⁸

Saraka with its various pilgrim spots is located by Cunningham at modern Sher Garh, two miles south-east of Kaithal.⁷⁹ But this identification is doubtful because of the association of Saraka with the Sarasvatī.

9. Anyajanman

To the east of Saraka is situated the pilgrim spot called Anyajanman⁸⁰ (v.1. Dhanyajanman⁸¹ or Ambājanman⁸² or Rāmajanman⁸³) which is identified with modern Dorkheri.⁸⁴

There is a legend⁸⁵ associated with this holy place. Viṣṇu assumed the form of the man-lion to kill the demon. After slaying the demon he dwelt among the animals. At that time he felt physical attraction for lionesses.^{85a} Then being requested by the gods and Gandharvas, Maheśvara decided to stop Viṣṇu from this. He assumed the form of a sarabha and fought against Viṣṇu for a thousand divine years. While engaged in fighting, the two gods fell down into the nearby lake on the bank of which the divine sage Nārada was sitting under a banyan tree. Nārada recognised them—Viṣṇu with four arms and Śiva in the form of a liṅga.^{85b} Nārada paid homage to them. His hermitage thus became famous in the three worlds being associated with Viṣṇu and Śiva.

Nārada resides perpetually under the banyan tree.⁸⁶ It is said in the Baṅgabāsi ed. of the Vāmana Purāṇa⁸⁷ that the pilgrims should worship the tree at first and then salute Śiva and Viṣṇu, but the critical ed.⁸⁸ says that by propitiating the tree one may avoid the terrible Yama. Regarding the merit of the tīrtha it is said that the faithful man who bathes here and offers oblation to the manes achieves the wisdom of Indra.⁸⁹

10. Nāgahrada or Puṇḍarika

Just after the Anyajanman-tīrtha, there is one lake of the Nāgas,⁹⁰ called Puṇḍarika.⁹¹ The tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Caitra is the proper time of bathing in it.⁹² The pilgrims attain the merit of a Puṇḍarika sacrifice by a dip at this place. It is identified with modern Pundri.^{92a}

11. Triviṣṭapa

The Triviṣṭapa-tīrtha, frequently visited by gods, is situated on the bank of the holy river Vaitaraṇī.⁹³ It is the abode of Vṛṣa-dhvaja, Śūlapāṇi,⁹⁴ and Jaṭādhara Maheśvara, Hari⁹⁵ and Virabhadra.⁹⁶ Cunningham identifies it with Dhodha.⁹⁷

12. Rasāvarta and Alepaka

Rasāvarta and Alepaka⁹⁸ are two pilgrim spots near Triviṣṭapa. These two holy places developed probably in the late medieval period. This is why they are not mentioned in the Mahābhārata.⁹⁹ It is not quite unlikely that Rasāvarta was associated with Rasā¹⁰⁰ which was a branch of Sindhu.¹⁰¹ The demons stole the cows of a pious sacrificer and kept them in a cave far away beyond this river.¹⁰² It was Indra who rescued the cows with the aid of the Maruts.¹⁰³ This river was possibly once conceived as the boundary line between the domains of the gods and the demons.¹⁰⁴ At Rasāvarta, the pilgrims achieve supernatural power and at Alepaka, the abode of Śiva, they become free from sins.

13. Pāṇikhāta

The pilgrims bathe and offer oblations to the deceased forefathers¹⁰⁵ or the gods¹⁰⁶ at Pāṇikhāta and thereby attain the merit of the Rājasūya sacrifice, as well as the Sāṅkhya and Yoga as said in the Vāmana Purāṇa¹⁰⁷ or the merit of the Agniṣṭoma, Atirātra and Rājasūya sacrifices as said in the Mahābhārata.¹⁰⁸

14. Miśraka

The great sage Vyāsa caused an admixture of all the tīrthas at this place for the sake of Dadhīci; this is why the tīrtha is called Miśraka.¹⁰⁹ This Purāṇic view exhibits a little modification in the epic verse¹¹⁰ in which

4. Svānulomāyana

Svānulomāyana¹⁸ (v.1. Śvānalomāpaha¹⁹ or Śvavilomāpaha²⁰) is a holy place where the pilgrims have to remove their hair by Prāṇāyāma. There is another pilgrim spot at the same place called Daśāśvamedhika, by visiting which the pilgrims attain mokṣa²¹ or the merit of ten Aśvamedha sacrifices.²²

5. Mānuṣa (v.1. Mṛga²³)

The term Mānuṣa occurs in two Ṛgvedic hymns. The first of them states that Agni gives welfare to the sacrifice of Mānuṣa, and is the ruler of Mānuṣa.²⁴

In the second he is invoked at Mānuṣa in the region of Dīśadvatī, Āpayā and Sarasvatī.²⁵ The place was named possibly after Manu.²⁶

The legend of a hunter and the black deer associated with this tīrtha is referred to briefly in the Mahābhārata.²⁷ The pre-epic development of the tīrtha is probably suggested by the fact that the legend is described by Pulastya to Yudhiṣṭhira even before the Bhārata War.

The epic legend associated with the Mānuṣa-tīrtha, the sight of which makes one free from sins,²⁸ is elaborated in the Purāṇas.²⁹ Some black deer shot by the arrow of the hunters were transformed into human beings after they had immersed themselves in the lake at this tīrtha. The hunters came there in search of the deer and asked them about the animals. They replied that they themselves were the deer and that by virtue of the tīrtha they became human beings. Then the hunters bathed in the lake, became pure and went to heaven.

As regards the eulogy of this tīrtha, the Mahābhārata states that a brahmacārin after bathing here becomes free from sin and worthy of going to heaven. The Purāṇa says that even the listening of the legend with devotion leads to emancipation.³⁰ King Triśaṅku got rid of his

Caṇḍālahood after bathing here.³¹ The Mānuṣa-tīrtha is situated between the abode of the fourth and fifth dvārapālas and one krośa away from the Āpagā river.³² According to Bhargava, Mānuṣa, now a village called Mānas, is situated $3\frac{1}{8}$ miles north-west of Kaithal.³³

6. Brahmodumbara

At the Brahmodumbara-tīrtha, the exalted region of Brahman,³⁴ there were seven holy pools associated with seven Brāhmaṇa sages—Bharadvāja, Gautama, Jamadagni, Kaśyapa, Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣṭha and Atri. Anybody bathing in these ponds attains the merit of performing seven Soma sacrifices and also the heaven of Brahman. The pilgrims feed here the Brāhmaṇas and visit the gods for the satisfaction of their deceased forefathers.³⁵

There is another pilgrim spot at the Brahmodumbara-tīrtha called Kapiṣṭhala³⁶ (v.1. Kapilakedāra³⁷), possibly a corrupt reading of Kapiṣṭhala. There is every possibility that the place was named after the sage Kapiṣṭhala³⁸ who was the founder of a gotra and whose teachings were incorporated by Rṣabha in his work which was consulted by Varāhamihira.³⁹ Kapiṣṭhala is the same as Arrian's Kambistholoi,⁴⁰ Varāhamihira's Kapiṣṭhala⁴¹ and Al-Birūnī's Kavital.⁴² There is also a belief that the spot was founded by Yudhiṣṭhira to commemorate his victory over the Kauravas.⁴³

In course of time the place became associated with monkeys. Etymologically speaking, Kapiṣṭhala means the abode of monkeys. To the east of Kaithal, the possible site of ancient Kapiṣṭhala,⁴⁴ there is a mound called Añjikā Tilā where Añjanā, mother of Hanumat, the monkey god, is believed to have given birth to her son.⁴⁵

The god of this place is called Vṛddhakedāra. Bathing here and worshipping Rudra along with Daṇḍin one acquires the power of invisibility and enjoys pleasure in

the domain of Śiva.⁴⁶ This tīrtha is equated with the great Kedāra-tīrtha. He who performs tarpaṇa here, sips three culukas of water and bows down to the Lord of the gods, obtains the merit of visiting Kedāra.⁴⁷ The fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Caitra is very auspicious for the performance of religious sacrifices at this place.⁴⁸ The Kapiṣṭhala-tīrtha is identified with modern Kaithal⁴⁹ in Karnal District.⁵⁰ According to Al-Bīrūnī, it was 10 farsakh⁵¹ away from Thanesar.⁵² But Bhargava distinguished Kapila-Kedāra from Kapiṣṭhala and identified the former with Silokheḍā, two miles south-west of Kaithal.⁵³

7. Kalasī

In the Purāṇic list⁵⁴ the Kalasī-tīrtha stands between Brahmodumbara and Saraka; but in the epic list⁵⁵ it is placed between Saraka and Anyajanman. It is a devī-tīrtha. On the bank of the pool there is the goddess Durgā also called Kātyāyanī, Bhadrā, Nidrā, Māyā and Sanātani.⁵⁶ Having bathed in the pool and seen the goddess, the pilgrims overcome the difficulties of worldly life.⁵⁷ The Mahābhārata says that one achieves here the merit of the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice.⁵⁸ There was one Kalasī-grāma where king Menander was born. But it was far away in the Yavana country and cannot be associated with Kalasī in Kurukṣetra.⁵⁹ Cunningham identifies this tīrtha with modern Kalasī.⁶⁰

8. Saraka

The Saraka-tīrtha, which is placed between Kalasī and Anyajanman in the Vāmana Purāṇa,⁶¹ but between Brahmodumbara and Kalasī in the Mahābhārata,⁶² is situated on the bank of the Sarasvatī.

There is a legend regarding the origin of this tīrtha

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in the Āitareya Brāhmaṇa.⁶³ Once the sages performed a saṁtra on the bank of the Sarasvatī. Kavaṣa who was the son of a female slave but seated among the sages, was driven out by them and left for a sandy desert where he might die of thirst. But Kavaṣa praised the waters in a hymn of the Ṛgveda,⁶⁴ and the Sarasvatī came rushing towards the place where he stood and surrounded it. Henceforth the spot came to be called Parisāraka. In later days it became famous as Saraka on the Sarasvatī.

There is a visible image of Śiva⁶⁵ and a crore of Rudras are established in a well (kūpa) at the centre of the tīrtha.⁶⁶ It was so important that three crores of tīrthas were believed to be united in it.⁶⁷ One who bathes in the pool and worships the crore of Rudras become free from all blemishes.⁶⁸ Paying a visit to the visible Śiva, the pilgrims attain Śiva-loka.⁶⁹

The other holy spots of Saraka, namely, Iḍāspada (v.1. Ilāspada),⁷⁰ Kedāra and Kimrūpa are called Ilāspada, Kimdāna and Kimjapya⁷¹ respectively in the Mahābhārata.⁷² The origin of the Ilāspada-tīrtha may be found in the Ṛgveda.⁷³ It is named most probably after Ilā, the ancestress of the Lunar dynasty.⁷⁴ The earlier name of it was, according to Bhargava,⁷⁵ Vivasvat Sadana. The Ilāspada-tīrtha possesses five-fold merit, viz., destruction of the fear of sins, emancipation of the pilgrims by a mere sight of it, removal of calamity, fulfilment of desired objects and the merit of the Vājapeya sacrifice.⁷⁶ The Kedāra-tīrtha destroys all sins and by bathing in the pool here, the pilgrims obtain the merit of all gifts.⁷⁷ At Kimrūpa the merit of the performance of all sacrifices may be achieved.⁷⁸

Saraka with its various pilgrim spots is located by Cunningham at modern Sher Garh, two miles south-east of Kaithal.⁷⁹ But this identification is doubtful because of the association of Saraka with the Sarasvatī.

9. Anyajanman

To the east of Saraka is situated the pilgrim spot called Anyajanman⁸⁰ (v.1. Dhanyajanman⁸¹ or Ambājanman⁸² or Rāmajanman⁸³) which is identified with modern Dorkheri.⁸⁴

There is a legend⁸⁵ associated with this holy place. Viṣṇu assumed the form of the man-lion to kill the demon. After slaying the demon he dwelt among the animals. At that time he felt physical attraction for lionesses.^{86a} Then being requested by the gods and Gandharvas, Maheśvara decided to stop Viṣṇu from this. He assumed the form of a sarabha and fought against Viṣṇu for a thousand divine years. While engaged in fighting, the two gods fell down into the nearby lake on the bank of which the divine sage Nārada was sitting under a banyan tree. Nārada recognised them—Viṣṇu with four arms and Śiva in the form of a liṅga.^{86b} Nārada paid homage to them. His hermitage thus became famous in the three worlds being associated with Viṣṇu and Śiva.

Nārada resides perpetually under the banyan tree.⁸⁶ It is said in the Baṅgabāsi ed. of the Vāmana Purāṇa⁸⁷ that the pilgrims should worship the tree at first and then salute Śiva and Viṣṇu, but the critical ed.⁸⁸ says that by propitiating the tree one may avoid the terrible Yama. Regarding the merit of the tīrtha it is said that the faithful man who bathes here and offers oblation to the manes achieves the wisdom of Indra.⁸⁹

10. Nāgahrada or Puṇḍarīka

Just after the Anyajanman-tīrtha, there is one lake of the Nāgas,⁹⁰ called Puṇḍarīka.⁹¹ The tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Caitra is the proper time of bathing in it.⁹² The pilgrims attain the merit of a Puṇḍarīka sacrifice by a dip at this place. It is identified with modern Pundri.^{92a}

11. Triviṣṭapa

The Triviṣṭapa-tīrtha, frequently visited by gods, is situated on the bank of the holy river Vaitaraṇī.⁹³ It is the abode of Vṛṣa-dhvaja, Śūlapāṇi,⁹⁴ and Jaṭādhara Maheśvara, Hari⁹⁵ and Virabhadra.⁹⁶ Cunningham identifies it with Dhodha.⁹⁷

12. Rasāvarta and Alepaka

Rasāvarta and Alepaka⁹⁸ are two pilgrim spots near Triviṣṭapa. These two holy places developed probably in the late medieval period. This is why they are not mentioned in the Mahābhārata.⁹⁹ It is not quite unlikely that Rasāvarta was associated with Rasā¹⁰⁰ which was a branch of Sindhu.¹⁰¹ The demons stole the cows of a pious sacrificer and kept them in a cave far away beyond this river.¹⁰² It was Indra who rescued the cows with the aid of the Maruts.¹⁰³ This river was possibly once conceived as the boundary line between the domains of the gods and the demons.¹⁰⁴ At Rasāvarta, the pilgrims achieve supernatural power and at Alepaka, the abode of Śiva, they become free from sins.

13. Pāṇikhāta

The pilgrims bathe and offer oblations to the deceased forefathers¹⁰⁵ or the gods¹⁰⁶ at Pāṇikhāta and thereby attain the merit of the Rājasūya sacrifice, as well as the Sāṅkhya and Yoga as said in the Vāmana Purāṇa¹⁰⁷ or the merit of the Agniṣṭoma, Atirātra and Rājasūya sacrifices as said in the Mahābhārata.¹⁰⁸

14. Miśraka

The great sage Vyāsa caused an admixture of all the tīrthas at this place for the sake of Dadhīci; this is why the tīrtha is called Miśraka.¹⁰⁹ This Purāṇic view exhibits a little modification in the epic verse¹¹⁰ in which

it is said that all the tīrthas were united here for the sake of the Brāhmaṇas.^{110a} The underlying idea is that the merit of this tīrtha is equivalent to that of all other holy places.^{110b}

15. Manojava

The Monojava-tīrtha is a pilgrim spot in the Vyāsa-vana.¹¹¹ Lord Śiva is established there and fulfils the desires of the pilgrims.¹¹² The association of this tīrtha with Śiva is a post-epic development as it is absent in the Mahābhārata. Manojava is another name of Indra.¹¹³ So it is not unlikely that Indra was associated with this holy place. As regards the glory of this tīrtha, the epic mentions that a bath here is as meritorious as the donation of one thousand cows.¹¹⁴

16. Madhuvaṭī

Madhuvaṭī is a devī-tīrtha where the pilgrims attain perfection through the grace of the goddess.¹¹⁵ There is a place in this region called Madhurā¹¹⁶ which is the abode of Devakī and Māhādevī; but it is difficult to identify Madhuvaṭī with Mathurā.¹¹⁷

17. Vyāsasthalī

Vyāsasthalī,¹¹⁸ the dwelling place of the sage Vyāsa, is visited by the pilgrims, specially by those who desire to remove the suffering caused by the loss of sons. There is a legend associated with this tīrtha. Vyāsa was overwhelmed with grief at the demise of his son and decided to give up his life. Then the gods consoled him and prevented him from doing it. According to the Brahma Purāṇa,¹¹⁹ here Vyāsa received nine sages, viz., Kaśyapa, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Vasiṣṭha, Jaimini, Dhaumya, Mār-

kaṇḍeya and Vālmīki. The Vyāsasthali is identified by Cūnningham¹²⁰ with Basthali, 16 miles to the west of Karnal and 17 miles to the south-south-west of Thanesar. This identification is accepted by P. V. Kane.¹²¹

18. Kiṁdatta-kūpa

The Kiṁdatta-kūpa¹²² (v.l. ⁰rūpa¹²³) is a pilgrim spot where the visitors achieve emancipation even by donating a prastha of sesame.

19. Ahna and Sudina

A Ṛgvedic verse¹²⁴ contains some information about ancient Indian geography. It mentions the Sarasvatī, Āpayā, Dṛṣadvatī and Mānuṣa.¹²⁵ There occur two other words in this verse which are mentioned in the epico-Purāṇic literature as the names of two pilgrim spots of Kurukṣetra. These are Ahna and Sudina.

The Purāṇic verse regarding Ahna (v.l. Anna)¹²⁶ and Sudina runs as follows—

Ahnaṁ ca Sudinaṁ c=aiiva dve tirtha bhuvi durlabhe |
tayoh snātvā viśuddh-ātmā Sūrya-lokam=avāpnuyāt ||¹²⁷

Thus the pilgrims attain to the Sūrya-loka as the result of a bath at these two holy spots of Kurukṣetra.

20. Kṛta-japya

The Kṛta-japya¹²⁸ (v.l. Kṛta-punya¹²⁹)-tīrtha is called Mṛga-dhūma in the Mahābhārata.¹³⁰ Lord Mahādeva is established here on the bank of the Gaṅgā. This Gaṅgā may be the Gaṅgā-Mandākinī which is called to be one of the nine holy rivers of Kurukṣetra.¹³¹ There is here another pilgrim spot called Koṭi-tīrtha,¹³² which is known as a devī-tīrtha in some editions of the Mahābhārata;¹³³ but as the abode of Koṭīśvara (Śiva) in the Purāṇas. Possibly the importance of the goddess, which

is a prominent feature of this holy place came to be reduced in the post-epic period.

21. Vāmanaka

The Vāmanaka-tīrtha is associated with the Vāmana incarnation of Viṣṇu.¹³⁴ As the Purāṇic legend runs, it was the place where the demon-king Bali after depriving Indra of his kingdom performed the Aśvamedha-sacrifice;¹³⁵ but Vāmana deprived Bali of his kingdom and conferred it upon Indra.¹³⁶ When Viṣṇu went to the sacrificial spot in Kurukṣetra, the earth quaked, the mountains moved, the oceans were agitated and the planets shone in opposite movement.¹³⁷ Possibly some natural calamity of the past is hinted at in this legend. Bathing here and worshipping Vāmana the pilgrim may remove all sins and attain Viṣṇu-loka.

There are several other pilgrim-spots here, viz., the Jyeṣṭhāśrama, Koṭi-tīrtha, Viṣṇupada and Sūryasthāna. These are not mentioned in the Mahābhārata, probably because of their growth in later days. The virtue of the Jyeṣṭhāśrama¹³⁸ is that anybody fasting here on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of the month of Jyeṣṭha attains seniority over others (jyeṣṭhatvaṃ labhate). Gifts made to the Brāhmaṇas at this spot on the occasion of the funeral ceremony remain imperishable (akṣayāṇi bhaviṣyanti). Cunningham identifies it with a holy spot of modern Burasyam, 7 miles to the south of Thanesar.¹³⁹ But the order maintained in the list of the tīrthas of Kurukṣetra in the Vāmana Purāṇa and the Mahābhārata clearly shows that the Jyeṣṭhāśrama or rather the Vāmanaka-tīrtha is not far away from Vyāsaṭhali, 16 miles to the west of Karnal and 17 miles to the south-south-west of Thanesar.¹⁴⁰ Hence the identification of the Jyeṣṭhāśrama with Burasyam is doubtful.

The pilgrims bathe at the place of Koṭīśvara Śiva and

by the grace of the lord achieve the merit of a crore of sacrifices and attain the position of Gaṇapati.¹⁴¹ There is an auspicious lake called Viṣṇupada,¹⁴² and another of the same name¹⁴³ on the Niṣadha mountain;¹⁴⁴ but the latter is far away from Kurukṣetra. The Sūrya-tīrtha of Vāmanaka is another holy bathing spot.¹⁴⁵

22. Kulottāraṇa

The Kulottāraṇa-tīrtha was founded by Viṣṇu for the benefit of the varṇas and āśramas.¹⁴⁶ Anybody bathing here liberates twenty-one generations of his family.¹⁴⁷ According to the Mahābhārata, this place is called Kulampuna and it causes salvation of the whole family of the pilgrims.¹⁴⁸ The Kulottāraṇa-tīrtha may be identified with modern Kimānch.¹⁴⁹

23. Pavana-hrada

The Pavana-hrada is associated with the wind-god. There is a legend on this.¹⁵⁰ Once Pavana was overwhelmed with grief at the demise of his son and disappeared in this lake, but subsequently reappeared (prakaṭikṛta). Bathing in the pond and worshipping the god Śiva established there, the pilgrims become free from all sins and attain the qualities of Śiva.¹⁵¹ Regarding the merit of the lake; the god Vāyu himself said—

majjanena ca vāp=īyaṃ bhava-jvara-vināśinī |¹⁵²

The antiquity of the Pavana-hrada is traceable in the Mahābhārata which calls it the great holy place of the Maruts.¹⁵³ In the Padma Purāṇa, the sage Dadhīca is associated with the Pavana-tīrtha.¹⁵⁴ In the epic the hermitage of Dadhīca is stated to be situated on the bank of the Sarasvatī.¹⁵⁵ On the basis of the legend associated with Dadhyañc,¹⁵⁶ the antiquity of this tīrtha may be traced back still further. Here Sārasvata became the king

of the Siddhas.¹⁵⁷ Cunningham identifies it with modern Papanāda or Palenāwa on the Aughvati river, 11 miles to the south-west of Thanesar.¹⁵⁸

24. Amṛta-sthāna

The pilgrim-spot that was known as the lake of the gods (amarāṇām hradam) and was dwelt by Indra,¹⁵⁹ became famous as the Amṛta-sthāna or Hanumat-sthāna.¹⁶⁰ It was the abode of Śiva and Hanumat.¹⁶¹ Here Hanumat was made to appear by the gods.¹⁶² There existed also four kuṇḍas,¹⁶³ named after Sūrya, Brahman, Rudra and Viṣṇu, and also the spots of Nava-durgā¹⁶⁴ and of the four Yakṣas.¹⁶⁵ People have to pay taxes here on the occasions Upanayana and marriage.¹⁶⁶

25. Śālihotra

The abode of the sage Śālihotra, known as Śāli-sūrya in the Mahābhārata,¹⁶⁷ is a spot where the pilgrim bathe and attain perfection¹⁶⁸ as well as the merit of a gift of thousand cows.¹⁶⁹

26. Śrī-Kuṇja

Regarding the Sārasvata-tīrtha called Śrī-Kuṇja, the Purāṇic passage runs as follows —

Śrī-kuṇjaṁ tu Sarasvatyām tīrtham trailokya-viśrutam ||
tatra snātvā nara bhaktyā Agniṣṭoma-phalaṁ labhet ||¹⁷⁰
Thus Śrī-kuṇja is famous in the three worlds. The pilgrims bathe here with devotion and achieve the merit of the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice. Cunningham identified this place with Banpura.¹⁷¹

27. Naimiṣa-Kuṇja

As regards the Naimiṣa-kuṇja, the Vāmana Purāṇa is very precise. It is a bathing spot and the pilgrims achieve

here the merit that may be attained in the Naimiṣ-āraṇya.¹⁷² Much is said in the Mahābhārata about this tīrtha.¹⁷³ In the past the sages of Naimiṣ-āraṇya came to Kurukṣetra in couse of their pilgrimage.¹⁷⁴ On the bank of the Sarasvatī, they made a Kuṇja which later came to be known as Naimiṣa-kuṇja. It developed as a holy place before the Christian era.¹⁷⁵

28. Vedavatī

The Vedavatī-tīrtha,¹⁷⁶ also called Kanyā-tīrtha¹⁷⁷ and Sītā-tīrtha¹⁷⁸ is associated with a legend narrated briefly in the Vāmana Purāṇa. According to this legend,¹⁷⁹ Rāvaṇa insulted Vedavatī who died praying for his death. Subsequently, she was born in the family of Janaka. She was named Sītā and became the wife of Rāma. Rāvaṇa carried her to Laṅkā. So Rāma killed Rāvaṇa and rescued Sītā.

The legend is originally mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa,¹⁸⁰ as follows: The daughter (vāṇmayī kanyā) of the sage Kuśadhvaṇa, son of Bṛhaspati, was Vedavatī. In course of his journey through the Himalayan region, Rāvaṇa met the beautiful Vedavatī, dressed in ascetic garb (kṛṣṇ-ājina-jaṭā-dharām). He fell in love and tried to woo her. She told him that her father would give her to none but Viṣṇu whom he considers suitable to become his son-in-law. Provoked at this, the demon-king Śambhu slew her father. But she remained firm to her father's will and practised austerities to gain Viṣṇu as her husband. Rāvaṇa boasted that he was superior to Viṣṇu. He insulted Vedavatī who told him that she would be born again for his destruction. So she entered fire and died. She was reborn as Sītā and became the cause of Rāvaṇa's death.

The spot where Vedavattī practised penance is the tīrtha under discussion. A man bathing here obtains the merit of performing Kanyā-yajña, gets rid of all sins¹⁸¹ and achieves the merit of the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice.¹⁸²

The Vedavatī-tīrtha is identified with Balavatī,¹⁸³ near modern Sitalamath.¹⁸⁴ There is a river called Vedavatī (v.l. Vetravatī¹⁸⁵) which is modern Betwa, a tributary of the Yamunā ; but it is not possible to associate the Vedavatī-tīrtha with this river.

29. Brahma-sthāna

The Brahma-sthāna is capable of bringing a man of low caste to the status of a Brāhmaṇa. A holy and virtuous Brāhmaṇa also attains here the highest spiritual position.¹⁸⁶

30. Soma

The Soma-tīrtha,¹⁸⁷ situated between the Brahma-sthāna and the Sapta-Sārasvata-tīrtha is a place where Soma performed penance as a result of which he achieved the kingdom of the dvijas (dvija-rājya).¹⁸⁸ The pilgrims here become pure like the full moon of the month of Kārttika and attain heaven.¹⁸⁹ This holy spot is mentioned also in the Mahābhārata.¹⁹⁰ It may be identified with Gumthala, four miles to the south-south-west of Pehoa.¹⁹¹

31. Sapta-Sārasvata

The Sapta-Sārasvata-tīrtha is a holy place on the bank of the Sarasvatī. Sage Maṅkaṇa united here seven holy rivers¹⁹² which give the benefit resulting from drinking the 'soma'.¹⁹³

There is a legend¹⁹⁴ associated with this tīrtha. At this place, there was the hermitage of Maṅkaṇa. Once he found śāka-rasa coming out of his wound. He became sure of his power achieved by severe penance and began to dance out of joy. The earth trembled in consequence. Lord Śaṅkara stopped him and showed him that he posses-

ses the power of making white ashes coming out of his thumb. Mañkaṇa was ashamed of his pride and worshipped Śiva who helped him in departing to the region of Brahman. This spot was made a principal sanctuary on the earth and came to be considered as equal to Pṛthūdaka in merit.¹⁹⁵ When Mañkaṇa (v.l. Mañki) was engaged in severe penance at Sapta-sārasvata, the tuṣita gods sent Vapu to create obstacle to him. He became excited and his semen dropped in the water of Sapta-sārasvata. In consequence, seven Maruts arose from the seven Sarasvatīs.¹⁹⁶

The two legends, associated with Mañkaṇa have their origin in the Ṛgveda. That germination is caused by the influence of lustre on the mind is indicated by the Ṛgvedic verse which runs as follows—

kāmas tadagre samavartatādhi

manaso retaḥ pratha mañ yad=āsīt | ¹⁹⁷

The śāka-rasa and bhaṣma probably stand for Soma and Agni which are essential for creation and of which Agni is superior.¹⁹⁸

Śiva was so pleased with Mañkaṇa that he decided to reside in his hermitage.¹⁹⁹ The pilgrims bathe at this tīrtha and worship Śiva and as a result, nothing remains in accessible to them.²⁰⁰

32. Auśanasa

The Auśanasa-tīrtha²⁰¹ which is also known as Kapālamocana is a Sārasvata-tīrtha.²⁰² The name Auśanasa came after the sage Uśanas (Śukra) who worshipped Śiva (param-eśvara) here and thereby attained perfection²⁰³ and became a planet.²⁰⁴ He is honoured among the planets because of his devotion to this tīrtha.²⁰⁵ The pilgrims bathe here and become free from sins committed in different births.²⁰⁶ The tīrtha is associated with Śiva and Kārttikeya.²⁰⁷ There is a legend²⁰⁸ in this regard. Once the earth quaked. With a view to finding out its cause, Śaṅ-

kara wandered about Kurukṣetra and found on the bank of the river Oghavatī the ascetic Uśanas, engaged in severe penance to know the science of Sañjīvanī by the grace of Śaṅkara. Śaṅkara was highly pleased and through his favour Uśanas knew the Sañjīvanī science.

There is a legend associated with the name Kapālamocana.²⁰⁰ Formerly Rāmacandra cut off the head of a wicked Rākṣasa. It fell in a large forest and accidentally got stuck to the shank of the sage Rahodara and entered in by breaking a bone. For relief from the pain the sage visited various tīrthas. At last on the advice of the sages, he went to the Auśanasa-tīrtha and touched its water. Miraculously the head fell down and the sage became free from the trouble. He came back to the hermitage and narrated the whole incident to the other sages who named the place Kapālamocana. The legend is significant.²¹⁰

Cunningham²¹¹ identifies the Kapālamocana-tīrtha with a place on the east bank of the Sarasvatī, ten miles to the south-east of Sadhora.²¹² He says that here Śiva became free from the sin of having cut off the four heads of Brahman. There is a sacred pool of the same name in Kurukṣetra. There were two Kapālamocana-tīrthas, one at Vārāṇasī²¹³ and the other in Kurukṣetra.²¹⁴ Śiva became free from sin at Vārāṇasī and the sage Rahodara at Auśanasa in Kurukṣetra. So the Kapālamocana-tīrtha, mentioned by Cunningham, is associated with Rahodara, and not with Śiva.

Cunningham found four weather-worn stones (20 inches square, 8 inches high) resembling human skull at the four corners of the pool.²¹⁵

To the south of Kapālamocana, there is a holy tank called R̥namocana (500 ft. each side).²¹⁶ Cunningham found there two inscriptions which he dates in the Gupta period,²¹⁷ but there is no doubt that this pilgrim spot originated in the pre-Christian era.

33. Viśvāmitra

• The Viśvāmitra-tīrtha²¹⁸ is the pilgrim spot where Kṣatriya Viśvāmitra attained the status of a Brāhmaṇa. Here a Brāhmaṇa pilgrim attains emancipation and a non-Brāhmaṇa acquires Brāhmaṇahood. This tīrtha was visited by Triśaṅku who came here with a view to getting rid of the status of Caṇḍāla by the grace of Viśvāmitra.²¹⁹ According to the Mahābhārata, the Viśvāmitra-tīrtha was located to the west of the Sthāṇu-tīrtha.²²⁰ It is situated on a mound 40 ft. above the river bed on the southern bank of the Sarasvatī near Pṛthūdaka.²²¹ Cunningham found there the ruins of an old temple, only one stone gateway of which was standing. There was over the doorway a seated male-figure with two arms kept on his lap. A small elephant anoints the figure from each side. To the left of the figure there are nava-graha and to the right aṣṭa-śakti or eight female energies of gods.²²²

34. Pṛthūdaka

The role of the Pṛthūdaka-tīrtha in the religious life of the Hindus in ancient and medieval India was very important.²²³

In connection with the emancipation of the sage Ruṣaṅgu, the Vāmana Purāṇa refers to the Pṛthūdaka-tīrtha²²⁴—

Sarasvaty-uttare tīrthe²²⁵ yas=tyajed=ātmanas=tanum |

Pṛthūdake japyaparo nūnum c=āmaratām vrajet ||²²⁶

He who gives up his life uttering prayers at Pṛthūdaka to the north of the Sarasvatī, undoubtedly attains immortality. Thus Pṛthūdaka is placed on the northern bank of the Sarasvatī. Here the compiler of the Vāmana Purāṇa shows the tendency of copying the epic verse²²⁷ which runs as follows—

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Pṛthūdake japyaparo nainam śvomaraṇam tapet |²²⁸

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Pṛthūdake japyaparo nainam śvomaraṇam tapet |²²⁸

But in the Purāṇa, Pṛthūdaka is considered to be a tīrtha in Kurukṣetra²²⁹ the northern boundary of which is the Sarasvatī.²³⁰ The possible reason of this contradiction is that the Sarasvatī changed its course in the post-epic period.

The Pṛthūdaka-tīrtha is identified with Pehoa (0.52 sq. miles in area) in the Karnal District in the Punjab, 14 miles to the west of Thanesar.²³¹ The Pehoa inscription from the temple of Garībnāth, dated 882-83 A.D., records the gifts made by some pious horse-dealers for the maintenance of some priests and temples. Pehoa is on the southern bank of the Sarasvatī.²³²

Pṛthūdaka is the emancipator of one's forefathers. It is a pitṛ-tīrtha where śrāddha of the dead ancestors is performed.²³³ Indra offered piṇḍa to the pitṛs here on the new moon day in the month of Āṣāḍha, in the Mṛgaśīras constellation.²³⁴ The pilgrims visit this tīrtha with the object of attaining perfection and immortality.²³⁵ The sage Ruṣaṅgu, at the close of his life, left his dwelling at Gaṅgā-dvāra²³⁶ and came to Pṛthūdaka considering it to be the better tīrtha. He bathed in the Sarasvatī here and attained perfection.²³⁷ This brief incident certainly indicates the superiority of the Pṛthūdaka-tīrtha to Gaṅgā-dvāra.²³⁸ Pṛthūdaka was considered to be an axe to the tree of sin. Taking a bath in the Oghavatī here and seeing the god Śaṅkara one becomes like the sun.²³⁹ There is a legend²⁴⁰ regarding this mātmya of Pṛthūdaka. Once there was a quarrel between Indra and Kārttikeya. Both claimed to be stronger than the other. At last they decided that he who would go round the Krauñca mountain earlier was to be regarded as the stronger.²⁴¹ Indra got down from his elephant and claimed that he had gone round the mountain and the Krauñca supported him. At this Kārttikeya became angry and killed Krauñca, the son of Sunābha and grandson of the Himālaya. When Sunābha came there Kārttikeya was about to kill him; but

Nārāyaṇa stopped him. The Himālaya then appeared on the scene and took his son away, while Hari took Kārttikeya to heaven. Thus Kārttikeya incurred sin of killing his maternal cousin. Advised by Viṣṇu, he visited the Pṛthūdaka-tīrtha, paid homage to Śaṅkara there and became free from sin. The Mahābhārata mentions it as an abode of Kārttikeya.²⁴² Previously lord Śiva had gone to Pṛthūdaka where he bathed and thereby became free from all sins.²⁴³ Here the pilgrims offer haviṣyāṇna mixed with sesamum and honey to the Manes with the object of achieving the merit of getting daughters. Indra made this offering and the Manes agreed to give their daughter Menā to the gods who gave her in marriage to the Himālaya.²⁴⁴ It is further said that, if anybody worships the pitṛs at Pṛthūdaka on the mahā-tithi, he is saved from the humiliation of being subdued by the enemy.²⁴⁵ One may achieve the merit of the Aśvamedha sacrifice and a place in heaven simply by bathing here.²⁴⁶

There are many pilgrim spots at Pṛthūdaka, four of which are specially mentioned in the Vāmana Purāṇa. These are Brahmayoni, Avakīrṇa, Madhusrava and Yāyāta. The Brahma-yoni-tīrtha²⁴⁷ is so called, because Brahman created here the four castes from his four limbs — Brāhmaṇas from his mouth, Kṣatriyas from his arms, Vaiśyas from his thighs and Śūdras from his feet.²⁴⁸ The Brahma-yoni-tīrtha is located on the bank of the Sarasvatī.

The Avakīrṇa-tīrtha²⁴⁹ is associated with a legend which runs as follows. Once the sages of Naimiṣ-āraṇya went to king Dhṛtarāṣṭra with a view to getting some dakṣiṇā. Among them Bakadālbhya took the leading part and put up their prayer to the king; but the latter rebuked them. This enraged Bakadālbhya who performed a sacrifice at Avakīrṇa to destroy the kingdom of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. The king and his priests then went to Bakadālbhya and satisfied him with various gifts. Thus the kingdom was saved. If any self-controlled (jitendriya) devotee takes

bath at Avakīrṇa, his desires are fulfilled. In the Padma Purāṇa, Avakīrṇa is associated with the sage Darbhīn.²⁵⁰

The peculiarity of the Madhusrava-tīrtha²⁵¹ is that the pilgrims have to offer here the tarpaṇa of honey to the pitṛs (madhunā tarpayet pitṛn). Cunningham noted it to be the most popular tīrtha at Pṛthūdaka.²⁵² The Yāyāta-tīrtha²⁵³ is named after Yayāti²⁵⁴ who performed at this spot a sacrifice and thenceforth the river began to flow with honey (yasy=cha yajamānasya madhu susrāva vai nadī).

When the Vāmana Purāṇa was compiled, Pṛthūdaka lost its early eminence and was no more regarded as the holiest of all the tīrthas. Though it says that Pṛthūdaka was the most exalted of the places of pilgrimage,²⁵⁵ the emphasis is not as much as in the following verses of the Mahābhārata²⁵⁶—

puṇyam = āhuḥ Kurukṣetraṁ Kurukṣetrāt Sarasvatī ।

Sarasvatyās = ca tīrthāni tīrthebhyaś = ca Pṛthūdakam ॥

Pṛthūdakāt puṇya-tamaṁ n = ānyat = tīrthaṁ kurūd vaha ।

There are innumerable cases of adoption of the verses of the Mahābhārata by the compiler of the Purāṇa ; but with reference to Pṛthūdaka he is silent. He emphasizes the Sthāṇu-tīrtha more than Pṛthūdaka.²⁵⁷ The origin of the Pṛthūdaka-tīrtha after Pṛthu²⁵⁸ is not clear in the Vāmana Purāṇa. On the other hand, there is a legend narrating how Pṛthu's father Vena became free from leprosy at the Sthāṇu-tīrtha and how his son was eager to secure his father's salvation.²⁵⁹ Thus the Pṛthūdaka-tīrtha is suggested to have developed after the Sthāṇu-tīrtha.

There are epigraphic references to show that long before the 9th century A.D. the Pṛthūdaka-tīrtha was popular and pious persons built the temples and sanctuaries there. The Pehoa inscription²⁶⁰ from the temple of Garibnāth, dated 882-83 A.D., records the donation of certain horse dealers for the benefit of the priests, to the temple of Viṣṇu in the Yajña-varāha or Boar incarnation

built by Bhūvaka at Pehoa or Pṛthūdaka and the sthāna or sanctuary of Pṛthūdaka. A horse fair is held at Pṛthūdaka on the 14th day of the dark half of Vaiśākha.²⁶¹ This refers to the role of Pṛthūdaka in the economic life of the country.

35. Aruṇā-Saṅgama

The confluence of the Aruṇā and the Sarasvatī, which is a holy bathing spot, is identified by Cunningham with a place three miles to the north-east of Pehoa.²⁶² There were several holy spots, viz., the confluence associated with the sage Darbhīn, Vasiṣṭhodbāha, Śatasāhasrika, Śatika, Soma-tīrtha, etc.²⁶³

The Mahābhārata²⁶⁴ says that the four oceans were brought here together by Darbhīn, and that anybody bathing there can avoid all evils and achieve the merit of donating four thousand cows. The confluence of the four oceans is called Ardhakīla in the epic,²⁶⁵ though the name is not mentioned in the Vāmana Purāṇa. As regards the merit of this spot, the Purāṇa²⁶⁶ states that a bath taken here is as meritorious as donating one thousand cows and austerity performed here even by an evil-doer becomes successful.

Regarding the Vasiṣṭhodbāha, there is an epic-Purāṇic tradition.²⁶⁷ A rivalry is said to have developed between the sages Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha.²⁶⁸ With the intention of killing Vasiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra ordered the Sarasvatī to bring Vasiṣṭha in his hermitage. The Sarasvatī came to know Viśvāmitra's intention and brought it to the notice of Vasiṣṭha who requested her to take him to his opponent. She did so. But out of fear of the slaughter of a Brāhmaṇa, the river carried Vasiṣṭha midstream, so that Viśvāmitra was angry with her and cursed her to the effect that she would be surrounded by the Rākṣasas and have the flow of blood. The Sarasvatī carried water mixed with blood

for a year. Then the sages and devotees brought the pure water of the Aruṇā, capable of destroying wicked deeds, into the Sarasvatī. Thus the Sarasvatī became pure. The confluence was founded there by the sages for the emancipation of the Rākṣasas.²⁶⁹ If anybody bathes at the confluence after three days' fast, he becomes free from all sins and achieves emancipation.²⁷⁰ Even the Rākṣasas became relieved of sins here and took up their abode in Heaven.²⁷¹

The Śatasāhasrika and the Śatika (v.1. Sahasraka²⁷²) tīrthas near the confluence are two pilgrim-spots where the people achieve the merit of donating one thousand cows.²⁷³ The Vāmana Purāṇa²⁷⁴ refers to a Soma-tīrtha at the place, though it is not mentioned in the epic.

36. Reṇuk-āśrama

The very name²⁷⁵ of the holy spot indicates that it was a mātṛ-tīrtha. The epic tradition is that the pilgrims bathing here and worshipping the gods and manes become free from all sins and attain the merit of the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice.²⁷⁶ According to the Vāmana Purāṇa, here the pilgrims attain the merit resulting from devotion to mother.²⁷⁷ This tīrtha was located about 16 miles north of Nahau in the Punjab.²⁷⁸ There is one Reṇukā-tīrtha, two furlongs away from Dadahu which is not very far from Simla.²⁷⁹ But it cannot be associated with Kurukṣetra.

37. Rṇamocana

The Rṇamocana-tīrtha which was situated after the Reṇukā-tīrtha was also known as Vimocana²⁸⁰ and Vimukti.²⁸¹ A man becomes free from debts due to gods, ṛṣis and manes if he visits this holy place.²⁸² It is a pitr-tīrtha and performing the śrāddha of the deceased forefathers one may achieve endless reward.²⁸³ There is a lake called Rṇamocana at a distance of $14\frac{1}{2}$ miles from

Jagadharī which is not far from Saharanpur Ambala Chhavani.²⁸⁴

38. Kumārābhiṣeka (Ojasa or Aujasa or Taijasa)

According to the Mahābhārata,²⁸⁵ Aujasa is the abode of Varuṇa. It is the place where Brahman and other gods and sages anointed Kārttikeya as the general of the gods. The spot was situated to the west of the Kuru-tīrtha.²⁸⁶ The Vāmana Purāṇa states that a man bathing there acquires fame and performing śrāddha there attains Kumāra-pura, i.e., the region of Kumāra or Kārttikeya.²⁸⁷ This tīrtha is equated with Gayā and the Sthāṇu-tīrtha. It is said that the performance of śrāddha here on the 6th day of the bright half of the month of Caitra gives the merit that is obtainable from śrāddha performed at Gayā.²⁸⁸ Śrāddha at this place is of the same merit as that performed at Sannihiti (i.e., Sthāṇu-tīrtha) on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun.²⁸⁹ In ancient days, Vāyu proclaimed that the effect of a śrāddha performed at Ojasa never exhausts.²⁹⁰ The god Śambhu is associated with this pilgrim spot.²⁹¹

39. Pañcavaṭa

The Pañcavaṭa-tīrtha is the abode of Śiva and anybody worshipping him attains emancipation,²⁹² and is uplifted to the rank of Gaṇeśa and enjoys the company of gods.²⁹³

40. Kuru-tīrtha

The Kuru-tīrtha is the pilgrim spot which was cultivated by king Kuru.²⁹⁴ The pilgrims residing here attain the worlds of Brahman²⁹⁵ and Rudra.²⁹⁶ Indra granted a boon to Kuru to the effect that anybody who commits sins elsewhere or polluted by the five major sins

shall be emancipated and he attains final beatitude by bathing here.²⁹⁷ Epigraphic reference is there to evidence such merits of this tīrtha. According to the Pehoa inscription of the reign of Mahendrapāla, the Kuru-tīrtha grants happiness, removes sufferings, protects one from sins and helps one in achieving the knowledge of self. The epigraphic text runs as follows—

Kṣetraṁ kuro[r=vividha-pāpa-m]al-ābhighāta-
dakṣaṁ kriyād=udayam=asta-samasta tāpam |
advyāsitaṁ muni-gaṇair=udit-ātma-bodha
praṅghasta-gāḍha-timira-prakaṣa-pramodaiḥ || [3 ||]²⁹⁸

This tīrtha is considered to be the holiest in Kuru-kṣetra.²⁹⁹ Close to it, there was a pilgrim spot called Svargadvāra, also known as Śivadvāra.³⁰⁰

41. Anaraka

The Anaraka-tīrtha is associated with Brahman, Rudrapatnī, Maheśvara and Padmanābha.³⁰¹ Brahman is established in the east, Maheśvara in the south, Rudrāṇī in the west and Padmanābha in the north.³⁰² It is meritorious to bathe there on the ṣaṣṭhī tithi falling on Tuesday in the month of Vaiśākha and to offer four vesselfuls of food to the gods.³⁰³ The abode of Dharmarāja stands at Anaraka to the west of the Yamunā.³⁰⁴ If anybody bathes there on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight, he becomes free from great sins by the grace of Dharmarāja.³⁰⁵ The Anaraka-tīrtha, which means, 'escape from hell (naraka)', is identified by Cunningham with a place on the Sarasvatī, two miles to the west of Thanesar.³⁰⁶

42-46. Yajñopavatika, Vihāra, Durgā, Caturmukha Brahman and Kanyāhrada

Between the Anaraka and the Sthāṇu-tīrthas, there are a few pilgrim spots, viz., Yajñopavatika, Vihāra, Durgā, Caturmukha Brahman and Kanyāhrada. These are omitted

in the epic, but mentioned in the Vāmana Purāṇa, probably because these developed in the post-epic period.

The Yajñopavatika-tīrtha was created by the sages of Naimiṣa on the bank of the Sarasvatī.³⁰⁷

The Vihāra-tīrtha is the abode of Madana, Śiva, Nandin and Gaṇeśa.³⁰⁸ There is a legend³⁰⁹ associated with this tīrtha. Once the gods came there with a view to seeing Śiva, but could see neither the god nor the goddess. They worshipped Śiva, Nandin and Gaṇeśa. Then Nandin was pleased and told them all about the activities of Śiva at this holy place. They also satisfied Śiva who told them that bathing in the tīrtha provides with property, grains and dear ones.

The pilgrims bathe at the Durgā-tīrtha and worship the ancestors with the intention of avoiding difficult situations in life.³¹⁰ There were two other holy spots, viz., Sarasvatī-kūpa where the pilgrims offer tarpaṇa to gods and ancestors,³¹¹ and the Prāci-Sarasvatī which makes the patricide, matricide, Brāhmaṇicide and one who violates his teacher's bed free if they bathe here.³¹² The pilgrims are encouraged to make night halts there.³¹³ The auspicious day of worship at Prāci is Pañcamī.³¹⁴ This tīrtha is associated with Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Brahman, Śaṅkara, Sūrya, Indra and other gods.³¹⁵

The Caturmukha-Brahma-tīrtha on the bank of the Sarasvatī offers salvation.³¹⁶ There was a temple dedicated to Brahman on the high road to the north of the town.³¹⁷

The Kanyā-hrada, situated close to the Sthāṇu-tīrtha is the abode of Śukra.³¹⁸ This may be identified with the Kanyāśrama of Kurukṣetra mentioned in the Mahābhārata.³¹⁹

47. Sthāṇu-tīrtha

The Sthāṇu-tīrtha or Sthāneśvara enjoys the foremost position among the tīrthas mentioned in the Vāmana-

Purāṇa.³²⁰ The antiquity of this tīrtha is not easy to trace. Cowell and Thomas in the translation of the Harṣacarita observed, "Though it (Sthāneśvara) is one of the most important centres of culture, philosophy and religion, it is surprising to note that a reference to Sthāṇviśvara as a town does not go back prior to Bāṇa's³²¹ Harṣacarita."³²² Whatever may be the period of growth of the town of Sthāneśvara, familiar to Bāṇa, the Sthāṇu-tīrtha as a famous centre of pilgrimage, was well-known in the early centuries of the Christian era. According to Cunningham, the term Batang-kaisara, mentioned by Ptolemy corresponds to 'Sthanaissara' or Sthāneśvara.³²³ In the Mahābhārata, it is called Sthāṇu-vaṭa.³²⁴ or Sthāṇu-tīrtha.³²⁵

The holy spots of the Sthāṇu-tīrtha, as known from the Vāmana Purāṇa are the Sthāṇu-hrada, Nṛpā-vana, Rudra-kara, Skanda-tīrtha, Cakra-tīrtha, etc.³²⁶ Cunningham³²⁷ has offered a long list of the holy places (more than thirty-seven) of Thanesar, but most of them are far away from the town. This is why these are considered above separately.

Regarding the lake to the south of the town, Cunningham says that it is called by various names, viz., Brahmasaras, Rāmahrada, Vāyusaras and Pavanasaras.³²⁸ There is, however, a Purāṇic passage which throws light on this matter. The passage runs thus —

ādyam Brahmasaraḥ puṇyam tato Rāmahradaḥ smṛtaḥ ।

Kuruṇā kṛṣiṇā kṛṣṭam Kurukṣetraṁ tataḥ smṛtam ।

tasya madhyena vai gāḍham puṇyā puṇya-jal-āvahāḥ ॥³²⁹

This may suggest that Brahmasaras was afterwards called Rāmahrada which was still later known as Kurukṣetra, because it was cultivated by Kuru. The holy (Sarasvatī) flows through its middle. Here Brahmasaras and Rāmahrada are possibly used to denote the area of Kurukṣetra which is sometimes called Samanta-pāñcaka. The lakes called Rāmahrada and Pavanasaras are located at different places in the Mahābhārata and Vāmana Purāṇa.³³⁰

Cunningham himself located Rāmahrada in the south-west corner of Kurukṣetra.³³¹

The other names of the Sthāṇu-hrada are Sannihita-hrada, Vāyu-hrada and Rudra-hrada. This is known from a verse of the Vāmana Purāṇa which runs as follows —

kṛte yuge Sānnihityaṁ tretāyāṁ Vāyu-saṁjñitam ।
Kali-dvāparayor = madhye kūpaṁ Rudra-hradam

smṛtam ॥³³²

Thus the Sthāṇu-hrada is called Sannihita in the Satya-yuga, Vāyu in the Tretā and Rudra in the middle of the Dvāpara and the Kali.

Līṅga-worship is a special feature of the Sthāṇu-tīrtha. There is a Purāṇic legend that lord Sthāṇu (Śiva) performed here a sacrifice, worshipped Sarasvatī and established her there in the form of a līṅga.³³³ The lake is associated with Brahman also. It is said that here stood the Egg in which Brahman, the grandfather of the world, was born.³³⁴ The lake was filled with the clear water stored at the navel of Brahman.³³⁵ In the middle of the lake there was a mighty banyan tree which is thought to be the embodiment of Sthāṇu.³³⁶ The līṅga of Śiva was established there by him in the form of an elephant, taking it from the Dāruvana.³³⁷ The līṅga is called Sthāṇu.³³⁸

That the area of the lake was reduced in later days is suggested by a legend which runs as follows :

The peculiar virtue of the Sthāṇu-līṅga is that a man who sees it attains heaven,³³⁹ so that heaven became filled up with man and the gods became afraid of men. They went to Śiva to stop this easy way of salvation. Śiva ordered to fill up the lake with dust. Indra showered dust and filled up the lake. At that time Śiva protected the Sthāṇu-līṅga and Sthāṇu-vaṭa.³⁴⁰

Brahman consecrated the primordial līṅga and established on it a līṅga made of stone.³⁴¹ He established seven other līṅgas there one after another out of a desire of doing good to the gods.³⁴²

In connection with the description of the surroundings of the lake, a large number of liṅgas are mentioned in the Purāṇa.³⁴³ To the north are the Śukra-tīrtha³⁴⁴ and the liṅga established by Takṣaka,³⁴⁵ Vibhīṣaṇa,³⁴⁶ the liṅga in Supārśva³⁴⁷ and other thousand liṅgas as far as the river Oghavati.³⁴⁸ To the east are the Soma-tīrtha,³⁴⁹ the liṅgas installed by Viśvakarman,³⁵⁰ Mitra and Varuṇa,³⁵¹ one svarṇa-liṅga,³⁵² one crore of liṅgas of Mahādeva installed by the Bālakhilyas,³⁵³ the Gokaṇṇa-liṅga founded by Rāvaṇa,³⁵⁴ Hastipādeśvara-liṅga,³⁵⁵ the liṅga founded by Āditya,³⁵⁶ Citrāṅgadeśvara liṅga installed by Citrāṅgadā and the Rambheśvara liṅga by Rambhā.³⁵⁷ To the south of the lake are the Dakṣa³⁵⁸ and the Rudrakara³⁵⁹ tīrthas and the liṅgas installed by Hārīta,³⁶⁰ Vāpita,³⁶¹ Śiva,³⁶² Mṛkaṇḍa,³⁶³ Indra³⁶⁴ and the Gandharvas, Yakṣas and Kinnaras.³⁶⁵ To the west of the lake, were the Skanda-tīrtha,³⁶⁶ Gaṇa and Naku-
liśa,³⁶⁷ the Siddheśvara-tīrtha,³⁶⁸ and the liṅgas founded by Vāyu³⁶⁹ and Kārtavīrya.³⁷⁰

As regards the location of the Sthāṇu-tīrtha, there is a controversy. According to Al-Bīrūnī, Sthāneśvara was about 180 miles north-north-west of Mathurā.³⁷¹ But according to Hiuen-tsang, it was about 100 miles to the north-west of Mathurā.³⁷² It seems that the conflicting statements refer to two different routes. At present Thāneśvara is in the Karnal District of Haryana.³⁷³ The original city was possibly four miles in circuit.³⁷⁴

The Chapter Sm. 25 of the Vāmana Purāṇa refers to the merits of pilgrimage to the Sthāṇu-tīrtha. These are : the merit of performing sacrifices,³⁷⁵ attainment of perfection,³⁷⁶ fulfilment of all desires,³⁷⁷ the merit of circum-bulating the earth by circumbulating the Sthāṇu-vaṭa,³⁷⁸ freedom from sins,³⁷⁹ the merit of bathing in all the tīrthas,³⁸⁰ the merit resulting from keeping the vow of Brahmacharya during youth,³⁸¹ beauty of form, good fortune, wealth and prosperity,³⁸² overcoming old age and

death,³⁸³ the merit of the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice,³⁸⁴ birth in a noble family in a future life,³⁸⁵ poetic ability of a high standard,³⁸⁶ omniscience and knowledge of the Brahman,³⁸⁷ acquiring the Sudarśana discus of Viṣṇu (possibly indicative of strength),³⁸⁸ curing diseases like leprosy,³⁸⁹ emancipation from the sins originating from illicit sexual relation³⁹⁰ and intermixture of castes and dining with various communities.³⁹¹

REFERENCES

(i) Between the First and Second Dvārapālas

- 1 Mbh., III. Ch. 81.
- 2 Vmn., Baṅgabāsi ed., 34. 14 ; see also Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 8.
- 3 For the meaning of the term, see Macdonell, op. cit., pp. 106 and 132.
- 4 Vmn., Sm. 13. 14.
- 5 Mbh., III. 81. 8.
- 6 Satata is used also in the Padma Purāṇa (III. 12. 8).
- 7 Mbh., III. 81. 9. The image of Viṣṇu may possess eight hands (holding a sword, a club of gold or iron, an arrow in the three right hands and making the fourth as if drawing water ; with a shield, a bow, a cakra and a conch in the left hands), or four (the bow, arrow, sword and shield are dropped) or two (the right hand drawing water and the left holding a conch). Cf. Bṛhatsaṁhitā, LVIII. 31-35.
- 8 But the epic tradition is maintained in the Padma Purāṇa (III. 12. 9).
- 9 Vmn., Sm. 13. 14-17.
- 10 Mbh., III. 81. 9-10.
- 10a Nirmalaṁ svargam = āyāti Rudra-lokaṁ = ca gacchati. See Vmn., Sm. 13. 15.

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- 11 Vmn., Sm. 13. 15-16. The idol of Baladeva has two ear-rings and eyes of a drunken man. If the idols of Viṣṇu and Baladeva are established jointly, the idol of Ekānaṁśā with books and lotuses in hands should be established with them (Cf. Bṛhatsamhitā, LVII. 36-37).
- 12 Matsya Purāṇa, 194. 38.
- 13 Vmn., Sm. 13. 17-18. For the Pāriplava-tīrtha, see also Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 10.
- 14 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIII. 4. 3. 3. See SBE, Vol. XLIV, p. 361.
- 15 See the section on the Kauśikī river above.
- 16 Vmn., Sm. 13. 18.
- 17 Mbh., III. 81. 11 ; also Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 11.
- 18 34. 19.
- 19 Sm. 13. 19-20.
- 20 Ibid., Sm. 13. 19. This verse is omitted in the Baṅgabāsi ed.
- 20a V.1. arāṇye c=āparādhā ye kṛtā hi.
- 20b V.1. sarvāms=tān kṣamate tatra.
- 21 The Mahābhārata says that anybody visiting this tīrtha achieves the merit of donating one thousand cows. Vide III. 81. 11 — Pṛthivyās=tīrtham=āsādyā go-sahasra-phalaṁ labhet.
- 22 Manusmṛti, IX. 44 — Pṛthor=ap=īmāṁ Pṛthivīm bhāryām pūrva-vido viduḥ.
- 23 Sm. 13. 19-22.
- 24 III. 81. 12-13.
- 25 Vmn., Sm. 3. 27.
- 26 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 99.
- 27 Vmn., Sm. 13. 21.
- 28 Ibid., Sm. 13. 22.
- 29 III. 81. 11 ; the reading of the epic is followed in the Padma Purāṇa (III. 12. 12), but there the tīrtha is named Śālvikinī.
- 30 Vmn., Sm. 13. 6-8.

- 31 Ibid., 13. 20-22.
- 32 III. 81. 11 — tad=eva labhate phalam. Here tad=eva indicates go-sahasra-phalam, vide ibid., v. 10.
- 33 Vmn., Sm. 13. 22 —
 Hariṁ Hareṇa saṁyuktaṁ pūjya bhakti-samanvitaḥ |
 For the combined form of Śiva and Viṣṇu see J. N. Banerjea, Development of Hindu Iconography, 2nd ed., pp. 123-24 ; also see JAIH, Vol. II, p. 14 3note.
- 34 Sm. 13. 23. In the Padma Purāṇa (III. 12. 13) this tīrtha is called Sarpinadī.
- 35 III. 81. 12.
- 36 Vāmana Purāṇa — a Study, p. 66.

(ii) Between the Second and Third Dvārapālas

- 1 Vmn., Sm. 13. 27.
- 2 Loc. cit.
- 3 III. 81. 14 ; also see Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 15.
- 4 Sm. 13. 28-30.
- 5 Vmn., Sm. 13. 28 — koṭi-tīrthāni Rudreṇa samāhṛtya yataḥ sthitam ; v. l. Baṅgabāsi ed. — °samājahre yatas=tataḥ.
- 6 Ibid., Sm. 13. 29. Compare Mbh., III. 82. 80.
- 7 Vmn., Sm. 13. 30 —
 tat=aiṇa vāmano devaḥ sarva-devaiḥ pratiṣṭhitaḥ |
 tat=āpi ca naraḥ snātvā Agniṣṭoma-phalaṁ labhet ||
- 8 Sm. 13. 31.
- 9 III. 81. 14 — rūpavān=abhijāyate. See also Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 16.
- 10 III. Ch. 123.
- 11 Vmn., Sm. 13. 32 —
 Vārāhaṁ tīrthaṁ =ākhyātaṁ Viṣṇunā parikīrtitaṁ |
- 12 Ibid., 53.5 ; 63. 4 — Varāhe Garuḍ-āsanam.
 The association of this tīrtha with the Sarasvatī is unexplainable. Cunningham locates it in south

Kurukṣetra away from the Sarasvatī. See below, also the map in ASI, Vol. XIV.

- 13 III. 81. 15 — Viṣṇur = vārāha-rūpeṇa pūrvam yatra sthito = 'bhavat ; see also Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 17.
- 14 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 98.
- 15 Vmn., Sm. 13. 32 — prāpnoti paramam padam ; Mbh., III. 81. 15 — Agniṣṭoma-phalam labhet ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 17.
- 16 Some of which are the following — on the Northern Mahendra (Vmn., 57.11-12), on the bank of the Narmadā (Matsya Purāṇa, 191. 30 and 94), in Karnali (see M. R. Majmudar, Revānā Tire Tire, Barodā, p. 171), at Prayāga (Matsya Purāṇa, 69. 2.), on the bank of the Sarasvatī (Vmn., Sm. 25. 1), etc.
- 17 Vmn., Sm. 13. 31 ff.
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- 19 Vmn., Sm. 13. 33 — yatra Soma = tapas = taptvā vyādhimukto = 'bhavat purā. The legend of Soma's curse is mentioned in another verse of the Vāmana Purāṇa (57. 53), which runs as follows —
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 Also see Śiva Purāṇa, III. 6. 56-62, and Manusmṛti, IX. 314—Kṣayī c = āpyāyitaḥ Somaḥ.
- 20 Skānda Purāṇa, VI. 63. 1-63.
- 21 Ibid., VI. 63. 28. See also ibid., VII. 21. 58 —
 anādṛtya hi me vākyaṁ yasmāt = tvam Rohiṇī-rataḥ ।
 santyajya putrīś = c = āsmākaṁ śeṣā doṣeṇa varjitāḥ ।
 tasmād = yakṣmā śarīraṁ te graṣiṣyati na samśayaḥ ॥
- 22 The legend is narrated again in the Skanda Purāṇa with some modification. It is said that Rohiṇī, not the sage Romaka, advised Soma to beg mercy of Dakṣa who told him to worship Śiva for the cure of his disease (see VII. 21. 35 — 22. 115).

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- 24 Vmn., Sm. 13. 36.
- 25 A S I, Vol. XIV, p. 100.
- 26 Vmn., Sm. 13. 37 ; Mbh., III. 81. 16 —
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- 27 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 99.
- 28 Vmn., Sm. 13. 37-38 ; Mbh., III. 81. 16-18 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 20.
- 29 Vmn., 63. 5 ; Matsya Purāṇa, 22. 16 ; Lakṣmīdhara, Kṛtyakalpataru, GOS, Vol. VIII, p. 241.
- 30 Matsya Purāṇa, 179. 87.
- 31 Sircar, Śāk., p. 89.

(iii) Between the Third and Fourth Dvārapālas

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- 2 Macdonell, op.cit., pp. 141-42.
- 3 Rgveda, I. 117. 22 —
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- 4 Ibid., 84. 14 — icchann = aśvasya yac = chirah
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- 5 See Mbh., III. 81. 26-27.
- 6 Ibid., I. 2. 5.

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- 14 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 98.
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- 24 Vmn., Sm. 13. 36.
- 25 A S I, Vol. XIV, p. 100.
- 26 Vmn., Sm. 13. 37 ; Mbh., III. 81. 16 —
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112 Kurukṣetra in the Vāmana Purāṇa

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- 5 See Mbh., III. 81. 26-27.
- 6 Ibid., I. 2. 5.

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- 7 Ibid., III. 116. 19-117. 10.
- 8 Anūpa was on the Narmadā. Its capital was Māhīśmatī, modern Māndhātā in the Nirmar District, M.P. See Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 35, note. Also see N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 8.
- 9 According to B. C. Law, the hermitage of Jamadagni was located in the district of Ghazipur in the U. P. (Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 137). But with reference to Kurukṣetra, this identification is impossible.
- 10 Mbh., III. 116. 21 —
jahāra vatsam krośantyā babhañja ca mahā-drumān |
- 11 Ibid., III. 117. 9 —
triḥ sapta-kṛtvāḥ pṛthivīm kṛtvā niḥkṣatriyām
prabhuh |
Samantapañcake pañca cakāra rudhira-hradān ||
- 12 Vmn., Sm. 14. 3-8 ; Mbh., I. 2. 6-9 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 37-38.
- 13 Mbh., III. 81. 31-33 ; Vmn., Sm. 14. 12-15 ; Padma Purāṇa III, 12. 40-41.
- 14 Sm. 11. 24 —
ādyam Brahmasaṇaḥ puṇyam tato Rāmahradaḥ amṛtaḥ |
Cf. Mbh., XIII. Ch. 25. Also see N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 40. The Rāmahrada is also known as Dvaipāyanahrada on account of an island in its middle. This island contained a well called Candrakūpa. See N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 58.
- 15 Vmn., Sm. 1. 14 —
... yad=antarām Rāmahradaḥ=Caturmukham |
etat Kurukṣetra-samantapañcakaṁ.... ||
See also Mbh., III. 81. 178.
- 16 Vmn., Sm. 1. 13 ; also see above.
- 17 Ibid., Sm. 14. 1.
- 18 III. 81. 22.
- 19 Sm. 14. 1-2 —

tato Rāmahradaṁ gacchet tīrtha-sevī dvij-ottamaḥ |
 yatra Rāmeṇa vipreṇa tarasā dīpta-tejasā ||
 kṣatram = utsādyā vīreṇa hradāḥ pañca niveśitāḥ |
 pūrayitvā nara-vyāghra rudhīreṇ = eti naḥ śrutam ||
 See also Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 26-28.

- 20 See Mbh., III. 81. 26-27.
- 21 See above.
- 22 VI. 66. 1-69 ; 67. 38 ; 68.6. Hāṭakeśvara is a holy spot of the Saptagodāvara-tīrtha which may be identified with a place of the same name at Solangipur, 16 miles from Pithapuram in the Godavari District of the Madras Presidency (cf. Sircar, Śāk., p. 95). Also see Skanda Purāṇa, VI. 26.86 — śīmānte dakṣiṇ-ottare.
- 23 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 91. N. L. Dey locates the Rāmahrada to the north of Thanesar. According to him, there is a small tank on the north-eastern side of the Rāmahrada, which is called Sunetsar, evidently a corrupt form of Śaryaṇāvata, the two tanks being formerly one (cf. N. L. Dey, Op.cit., p. 166). But it is difficult to accept his view, as it is not in conformity with the order of Kurukṣetra parikramā. Also see V. S. Agrawala, Vāmana Purāṇa — a Study, p. 67.
- 23a ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 91.
- 24 It seems that the name was coined from her dress made of Ulūkhalā. Compare Mbh., III. 129.8 — ulūkhalair = ābharaṇaiḥ piśāci. She was probably the supreme deity of some primitive tribe and lived on vegetarian diet (see IHQ, Vol. XXXI, p. 7). See also above.
- 25 Vmn., Sm. 13. 44-45.
- 26 Mbh., III. 81.18 ; Vmn., Sm. 13.38.
- 27 Mbh., Gītā Press ed., III.83.22.
- 28 Mbh., III. 81.18 ; Vmn., Sm. 13.39 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 12.21.
- 29 Kūrma Purāṇa, II. 36. 38-39. Here the tīrtha is called Muñjapṛṣṭha.

- 30 Vmn., Sm. 13. 41-42 ; see also Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 24-25.
- 31 Mbh., III. 81. 21.
- 32 Ibid., 129. 7.
- 33 The Raupyā may be identical with the Rūpā of the Purāṇas. According to D. C. Sircar, the reading and identification of the Rūpā are uncertain. (See Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 46). For its identification with Dṛṣadvatī see the view of Bhargava cited above.
- 34 See above.
- 35 Vmn., Sm. 13.42 — kṛta-kṛtyo bhaved rājā Aśvamedhaṁ ca vindati.
- 36 Ibid., Sm. 13.43.
- 37 Ibid., Sm. 13. 47-48 ; cf. Mbh., III. 129.9.
- 38 Yugandhara is a locality inhabited by a tribe of the same name. This tribe belonged to the Śālvas (cf. Yādavaprakāśa, Vaijayantī, 1.3.1. 38-39 ; see Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 21) who lived in the Punjab and the adjoining regions of the U.P. and Rajputana (cf. Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, p. 80 ; see also Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 21). Dowson took it to be a city in the Punjab (op.cit., p. 383). V. S. Agrawala suggests its location between the Sarasvatī and the Upper Yamunā (India as Known to Pāṇinī, pp. 57-58). According to B. C. Law, Yugandhara is near Kurukṣetra. It appears to have been situated on the western bank of the Yamunā and to the south of Kurukṣetra (Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 137). He has made a distinction between Yugandhara and Yaugandhara which is identified by him with Jhind of Southern Punjab, the gateway of Kurukṣetra (op.cit., p. 136).
- 39 Mbh., III. 129.9.

- 40 Ibid., III. 129.10.
- 41 IHQ, Vol. XXXI, pp. 6-7.
- 42 Agrawala, Vāmana Purāṇa — a Study, p. 67.
- 43 The association of the Sarasvatī with this legend indicates that once the river flowed close to the Rāma-hrada.
- 44 Vmn., Sm. 13.50 —
 yadā sūryasya grahaṇam
 kālena bhavitā kvacit |
 Sannihatyām (v.l. Sarasvatyām) tadā snātvā
 pūtā svargam gamiṣyasi ||
- 45 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 98.
- 46 Vmn., Sm. 14.16 ; Mbh., Gītā Press ed., III. 83.42 ;
 Padma Purāṇa III. 12.42.
- 47 Vmn., Sm. 14.17-19 ; Mbh., III. 81.35 ; Padma Purāṇa,
 III. 12.43.
- 48 Vmn., Sm. 14.18.
- 49 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 100.
- 50 Vmn., Sm. 14.22 ; Padma Purāṇa III. 12.45-46.
- 51 Mbh., III. 81.37 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 12.47.
- 52 Vmn., Sm. 14.23.
- 53 Ibid., Baṅgabāsi ed., 35.23.
- 54 Vedānta Sūtra, SBE, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 114, 126 and
 174 ; Mbh., Gītā Press ed., III. 84.124.
- 55 Vmn., Sm. 14.23—sānnidhyam sadā devī prayacchati.
- 56 Ibid., 59.117-19.
- 57 Ibid., 72-73.
- 57a Lakṣmīdhara, Kṛtyakalpataru, GOS, Vol. VIII, p. 248.
- 58 See above.
- 59 Matsya Purāṇa, 13.33 ; 22.62.
- 60 Śāk., p. 95.
- 61 See Yājñavalkya Smṛti, 1.205. It may be that this
 tīrtha is named after Kapilā, the daughter of Dakṣa
 (Mbh., I. 59.11-13) and mother of Amṛta, Brāhmaṇas,
 cows and others (ibid., I.59.52). In the Padma Purāṇa
 (III. 12.48), it is called Kapilā-tīrtha.

- 62 Vmn., Sm. 14.25—Mahādevaṁ kāpilaṁ vapurāsthitaṁ.
- 63 Mbh., III. 81.38.
- 64 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 100. Kailat is also called Kalāyat,
see Bhargava, op.cit., p. 33.
- 65 Vmn., Sm. 14. 24-26 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 12.49.
- 66 Vmn., Sm. 14. 26-28 ; see also Sūrya-vana above.
- 67 Mbh., III. 81.39. In this respect the Padma Purāṇa,
III. 12. 49-50 followed the epic tradition.
- 68 Bhargava, op.cit., p. 33.
- 69 Vmn., Sm. 14.29 ; also see our discussion on Forests
above.
- 70 Mbh., III, 81.40.
- 71 Padma Purāṇa, III. 12.51 follows the epic tradition.
- 72 Bhargava, op.cit., p. 33.
- 73 Vmn., Sm. 14. 29-33. The original legend adopted
from the Mahābhārata (XIII., Ch. 77) runs as follows.
Being requested by God, Brahman created beings
(prajā). But a definite means was required for their
livelihood. The nectar (amṛta) produced in sacri-
fices was restored in the cows. Brahman drank the
nectar and eructed. From the eructation was crea-
ted Surabhī, the mother of the Kapilās who offer
food to the created beings.

The last part of the legend is associated with Śiva. While the calves were drinking milk of their mothers the foam of the milk accidentally fell on the head of Śiva from their mouth. Śiva grew angry ; fire came out of his third eye and caused sufferings to the calves. When Brahman came to know this, he told Śiva that the foam is as pure as nectar and offered him a cow and a bull. Śiva being pleased made the bull his vāhana and the mark of his banner. Henceforth he is called Vṛṣa-dhvaja.

- 74 Mbh., III. 81.41. This tīrtha is omitted in the Padma Purāṇa which mentions Gaṅgā-tīrtha in its place (see III. 12.52).

- 75 In the critical ed. of the Vāmana Purāṇa (Appendix 3, p. 45) Mukṭisamāśraya is mentioned as a pilgrim spot of Kurukṣetra. It may be identified with Mukteśvara (see B. C. Law, Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 112).
- 76 Vmn., Sm. 14. 34-35.
- 77 Mbh., Gītā Press ed., III. 83.51.
- 78 Vmn., 46. 24 ff.

(iv) Between the Fourth and Fifth. Dvārapālas

- 1 Vmn., Sm. 14. 36 and 39.
- 2 Mbh., III. 81. 43.
- 3 The Padma Purāṇa (III. 12. 54) mentions only one tīrtha of this name.
- 4 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 99.
- 5 Vmn., Sm. 14. 36 — prāṇān muñcati svecchayā.
- 6 Matsya Purāṇa, 190. 78.
- 7 Ibid., 191. 70-71.
- 8 Kantawala, Cultural History from the Matsya Purāṇa, p. 314.
- 9 Vmn., Sm. 14. 40-41; also see Mbh., III. 81. 44-45. Compare Padma Purāṇa (III. 12. 56-57).
- 10 Vmn., Sm. 14. 42.
- 11 Mbh., Gītā Press ed., III. 83. 57; also Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 58.
- 12 Mbh., III. 81. 46.
- 13 Vmn., Baṅgabāsī ed., 35. 42.
- 14 Vmn., Sm. 14. 42.
- 15 Ibid., Sm. 14. 42 and 43 —
Kāmeśvarasya tīrthaṁ tu
snātvā śraddhā-samanvitaḥ ||
sarva-vyādhi-vinirmukto
Brahm-āvāptir=bhaved=dhruvam ||
- 16 Ibid., Sm. 14. 43-44; also see Mbh., III. 81. 47; Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 59.

- 17 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 100.
- 18 Vmn., Sm. 14. 47-48 ; v. 1. Svarṇalomāpanayana,
see Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 63.
- 19 Mbh., III. 81. 50.
- 20 Ibid., Gītā Press ed., III. 83. 61.
- 21 Mbh., III. 81. 52.
- 22 Vmn., Sm. 14. 14 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 64-65.
- 23 Skanda Purāṇa, VI. 23. 1-4.
- 24 Ṛgveda, I. 128. 7—
sa Mānuṣe vṛjane śamtamo hito=gnir=yajñeṣu jenyo
na viś-patiḥ priyo yajñeṣu viś-patiḥ ।
- 25 Ibid., III. 23. 4. For the different interpretations
of the verse, see above. According to Bhargava,
it is a town as well as a river (op.cit., pp. 30-33).
- 26 Bhargava, op.cit., p. 33.
- 27 Mbh., III. 81. 53.—
yatra kṛṣṇa-mṛgā rājan
vyādhena pari (v. 1. śara-) pīḍitāḥ.
- 28 Vmn., Sm. 14. 50—
darśanāt=tasya tīrthasya mukto bhavati kilbiṣaiḥ.
- 29 Ibid., Sm. 14. 50-55 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 65-66 ;
Skanda Purāṇa, VI. 23. 5-14.
- 30 Vmn., Sm. 14. 56, ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 67.
- 31 Skanda Purāṇa, VI. 23. 20.
- 32 Vmn., Sm. 15. 1 ; Mbh., III. 81. 55 ; Padma Purāṇa,
III. 12. 68.
- 33 Bhargava, op.cit., p. 32.
- 34 Vmn., Sm. 15. 7 — Brahmanāḥ sthānam=uttamam ;
Mbh., III. 81. 58 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 72.
- 35 Vmn., Sm. 15. 8-13 ; Mbh., III. 81. 59.
- 36 Vmn., Sm. 15. 14.
- 37 Mbh., III. 81. 59 and 61 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 75.
- 38 Pāṇini, Aṣṭādhyāyī, VIII. 3. 91.
- 39 See Bṛhatsamhitā, LXXXVI, 1.
- 40 Cf. N. L. Dey, op.cit., p. 92.
- 41 Bṛhatsamhitā, XIV. 4.

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- 42 Sachau, Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 206.
- 43 See N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 92.
- 44 See below.
- 45 Census of India, 1961, Punjab, District Census Handbook, No. 4, Karnal District, p. 8.
- 46 Vmn., Sm. 15. 15 — antardhānam=avāpnoti Śivaloke sa modate ; also see Mbh., III. 81. 61.
- 47 Vmn., Sm. 15. 16. —
 yas=tatra tarpaṇam kṛtvā
 pibate culuka-trayam ।
 Daṇḍidevaṁ (v. l. deva-devaṁ) namas=kṛtvā
 kedārasya phalaṁ labhet ॥
- 48 Ibid., Sm. 15. 17.
- 49 Kaithal is 2'10 sq. miles in area. It lies 29° 48' 09" north and 76° 23' 45" east, some 40 miles west of Karnal. See Census of India, 1961, District Census Handbook, No. 4, Karnal District, p. 8. Compare Punjab District Gazetteers, Karnal District, 1883-84, p. 261.
- 50 V. S. Agrawala, India as Known to Pāṇini, p. 71 ; also Vāmana Purāṇa—a Study, p. 68.
- 51 One farsakh = $3\frac{771}{1000}$ English miles. See Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 245.
- 52 Sachau, Alberuni's India, Vol. I, pp. 198ff. Also see Sircar, Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature, p. 158.
- 53 Bhargava, op.cit., p. 32.
- 54 Vmn., Ch. Sm. 15.
- 55 Mbh., III. Ch. 81 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 76-82.
- 56 Vmn., Sm. 15. 18 —
 Kalasyām tu tato gacchet yatra devī svayaṁ sthitā ।
 Durgā Kātyāyanī Bhadrā Nidrā Māyā Sanātani ॥
- 57 Ibid., v. 19.
- 58 Mbh., III. 81. 66.
- 59 This Kalasi-grāma was situated in the Alasanda-dvīpa which is identified by some with the land

between the Panjsher and Kabul river (CHI, Vol. I, p. 496). Also see Law, Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 88. Sircar locates it in the Lower Indus valley (Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, 2nd ed., pp. 230 ff.

60 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 100.

61 Vmn., Sm. 15. 18ff.

62 Mbh., III. 81. 58ff.

63 Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, II. 19.

64 Ṛgveda, X. 30.

65 Vmn., Sm. 15. 20.

66 Ibid., Sm. 15. 22 —

Rudra-koṭis=tathā kūpe saro-madhye vyavasthitā ।

Compare Mbh., III. 81. 63 —

Rudra-kotis=tathā kūpe hradeṣu ca mahīpate ।

67 Vmn., Sm. 15. 21 —

ṭisraḥ koṭyas=tu tīrthānām Sarake dvija-sattamāḥ ॥

Mbh., III. 81. 63 ; also see Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 76-77.

68 Vmn., Sm. 15. 22-23.

69 Ibid., Sm. 15. 21.

70 Mbh., III. 81. 64 ; v.l. Halāspada, see Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 78.

71 V. l. Kīṁyajña, see Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 80.

72 Vmn., Sm. 15. 24 ff. ; Mbh., III. 81. 63-65.

73 Ṛgveda, III. 23. 4—pṛthivyā Ilāyāspade.

74 Bhargava, op.cit., p. 33.

75 For Bhargava's view, see loc.cit.

76 Mbh., III. 81. 63 ; also see Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 78-79.

77 Vmn., Sm. 15. 26-27 —

Kedāraṁ ca mahā-tīrthaṁ sarva-kalmaṣa-nāśanam ॥

tatra snātvā tu puruṣaḥ sarva-dāna-phalaṁ labhet ।

78 Vmn., Sm. 15. 27 —

Kīmrūpaṁ ca mahā-tīrthaṁ

tatra=iva bhuvi durlabham ।

tasmin snātas=tu puruṣaḥ

sarva-yajña-phalaṁ labhet ॥

- 79 ASI, Vol. XIV, pp. 100,104.
- 80 Vmn., Sm. 15. 28.
- 81 Ibid., Baṅgabāsi ed., 36. 36.
- 82 Mbh., III. 81. 67.
- 83 Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 82.
- 84 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 99.
- 85 Vmn., Sm. 15. 28-38.
- 85a Ibid., Sm. 15. 29 —
 simhīṣu ratim = āptavān, v.l. simheṣu ratim = āpnuvan.
- 85b Vmn., Sm. 15. 33 —
 Viṣṇuṣ = catur-bhujo yajñe liṅg-ākāraḥ Śivaḥ sthitaḥ ।
- 86 In the Padma Purāṇa, (III. 12. 83) also this tīrtha is associated with Nārada.
- 87 Vmn., Baṅgabāsi ed., 36. 40 —
 Aśvatthaṁ vandanaṁ kṛtvā Śivaṁ Kṛṣṇaṁ namasyati ।
- 88 Vmn., Sm. 15. 36 —
 Aśvattha-vandanaṁ kṛtvā Yamaṁ raudraṁ na paśyati ॥
- 89 Ibid., Sm. 15. 37 —
 ya ih = āgatya snātvā ca
 pittṛṇ samītarpayiṣyati ।
 tasya śraddhānvitasy = cha
 jñānam = aindraṁ bhaviṣyati ॥
- 90 That it is a lake of the Nāgas is not mentioned in the Mahābhārata. See Mbh., III. 81. 69.
- 91 Loc. cit. ; Vmn., Sm. 15. 39.
- 92 Vmn., Sm. 15. 40 —
 daśamyām śukla-pakṣasya
 Caitrasya tu viśeṣataḥ ।
 snānaṁ japaṁ tathā śrāddhaṁ
 mukti-mārga pradāyakam ॥
 Also see Lakṣmīdhara, Kṛtyakalpataru, GOS, Vol. VIII, p. 248 —
 śukle snātvā daśamyām tu Puṇḍarīke tatha = iva ca ।
- 92a Pundri is located at 29° 45' 30" north and 76° 36' 15" east. See Punjab District Gazetteers, Karnal District, 1883-84, p. 255.

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Kurukṣetra in the Vāmana Purāṇa

- 93 Vmn., Sm. 15. 41 ; Mbh., III. 81. 70 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 84-85.
- 94 Vmn., Sm. 15. 42 —
tatra snātv=ārcayitvā ca Śūlapāṇīm vṛṣa-dhvajam ।
- 95 Ibid., 57. 61-62.
- 96 Ibid., 63. 32 — Vīrabhadraṁ Triviṣṭape.
- 97 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 99. But Bhargava identifies it with modern Teontha. See op.cit., p. 67.
- 98 Vmn., Sm. 15. 43-44.
- 99 These are absent also from the list of holy spots of Kurukṣetra mentioned in the Padma Purāṇa (III. Ch. 12).
- 100 Ṛgveda, V. 53. 9. It issues from the Himavat. See Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 39, note.
- 101 Ṛgveda, X. 75. 6.
- 102 Ibid., Ch. 108 ; also Macdonell, op.cit., p. 63.
- 103 Ṛgveda, I. 6. 5.
- 104 See ibid., X. 108. 11.
- 105 Vmn., Sm. 15. 41.
- 106 Mbh., III. 81. 75.
- 107 Vmn., Sm. 15. 51 —
Pāṇikhāte naraḥ snātvā pitṛṇ samtarpya mānavah ।
avāpnuyāt Rājasūyaṁ Sāṁkhyam Yogam ca vindati ॥
See Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 90.
- 108 See above.
- 109 Vmn., Sm. 15. 52-53 —
tatra tīrthāni muninā miśritāni mahātmanā ॥
Vyāsenamuni-śārdulā Dadhīcyartham mahātmanā ।
- 110 Mbh., III. 81. 76-77. The Padma Purāṇa, (III. 12. 91-92) holds the same view.
- 110a Dvij-ārtham in place of the Purāṇic Dadhīcy-artham.
- 110b Vmn., Sm. 15. 53 —
sarva-tīrtheṣu sa snāti Miśrake snāti yo naraḥ ।
- 111 See above.
- 112 Vmn., Sm. 15. 54-55.

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- 113 See Sachau, Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 387.
- 114 Mbh., III. 81. 78. See also Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 39.
- 115 Vmn., Sm. 15. 55-56 ; Mbh., III. 81. 79 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 94.
- 116 It is the same as Mathurā. See Sircar, Śāk., p. 89 ; also see above.
- 117 See Madhu-vana above.
- 118 Vmn., Sm. 15. 58-59 ; Mbh., III. 81. 81 ; Nāradiya Purāṇa, II. 65. 83 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 97-98.
- 119 Brahma Purāṇa, 26. 6ff.
- 120 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 98.
- 121 History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. IV., p. 685 ; also Census of India, 1961, Punjab, District Census Handbook, No. 4, Karnal District, p. 5.
- 122 Vmn., Sm. 15. 60 ; Mbh., III. 81. 83. In the Padma Purāṇa the tīrtha is called Ṛṇānta Kūpa. See III. 12. 99 —
 Ṛṇāntain kūpam = āsādyā tila-prasthaṁ pradāya ca |
 gaccheta paramāṁ siddhim = ṇair = mukto nar-eśvara ||
- 123 Vmn., Baṅgabāsī ed., 36. 60.
- 124 Ṛgveda, III. 23. 4.
- 125 See the Sarasvatī, Apayā, Dṛṣadvatī and Mānuṣa above.
- 126 Vmn., Baṅgabāsī ed., 36. 63 ; also Aha in Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 100.
- 127 Vmn., Sm. 15. 61 ; Mbh., III. 81. 84.
- 128 Ibid., Sm. 15. 62.
- 129 Ibid., Baṅgabāsī ed., 36. 64-65.
- 130 Mbh., III. 81. 85 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 102.
- 131 See the Gaṅgā-Mandākinī above.
- 132 Vmn., Sm. 15. 63.
- 133 Mbh., Gītā Press ed., III. 83. 102 —
 devyās = tīrthe naraḥ snātvā go-sahasra-phalaṁ labhet |
- 134 Vmn., Sm. 15. 64-66 ; Mbh., III. 81. 86-87 ; 272. 61-70.
 For the origin of the three steps of Viṣṇu, see Ṛgveda, I. 154.1 ; I. 155.4 ; VI. 49.13 ; VII. 100. 3. The faint

origin of the epico-Purāṇic legend of the Vāmana Incarnation may be traced here. For the developed form of this legend see Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, I. 2.5 ; Taittiriya Saṁhitā, II. 1.3 ; Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa I. 6.1. For the legend see also JRAS, Vol. XXVII, pp. 174 note and 188-89.

135 Vmn., 62.52 —

brahman vrajāmi dehy = ājñām

Kurukṣetraṁ mahodayam |

tatra daitya-pateḥ puṇyo

haya-medhaḥ pravartate ||

See also *ibid.*, 64.41. The Bali-Vāmana episode is associated with Puṣkara in the Padma Purāṇa (I. 15-16), Gaṅgādvāra in the Agni Purāṇa (47), Vastrāpatha near Prabhāsa in the Skanda Purāṇa, (VII. 14.78 ff.) and the Narmadā in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (VII. 18.21 ff.).

136 Vmn., Sm. 15.65 —

yatra Vāmana-rūpeṇa Viṣṇunā prabhaviṣṇunā |

Baler = apahṛtaṁ rājyaṁ = Indrāya pratipāditam ||

This verse is absent from the Mahābhārata.

137 *Ibid.*, Sm. 8. 5-7 ; Sm. 10. 1-2 ; 63.48 ; 64.1.

138 *Ibid.*, Sm. 10. 82-84 ; Sm. 15. 67-70.

139 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 99.

140 See Vyāsasthali above.

141 Vmn., Sm. 15. 71-72 —

tasmīns = tīrthe naraḥ snātvā koṭi-yajña-phalaṁ labhet |

Koṭīśvaram nara dṛṣtvā tasmīns = tīrthe Maheśvaram ||

142 Mbh., III. 81. 87 ; Vmn., Sm. 10. 82-84 ; Sm. 15. 66 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 104.

143 Matsya Purāṇa, 121. 66.

144 It is the Shivapuri District of M. P. See Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 35.

145 Vmn., Sm. 15.73.

146 *Ibid.*, Sm. 15. 74-75 —

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Kulottāraṇa-nāmānaṁ Viṣṇunā kalpitaṁ purā ||
varṇānām=āśramānām ca tāraṇāya sunirmalam |

147 Ibid., Sm. 15. 76.

148 Mbh., III. 81.88 ; see also Padma Purāṇa, III. 12.105.

149 ASI, Vol: XIV, p. 100.

150 Vmn., Sm. 16.2. The tīrtha is also mentioned in the Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 106.

151 Vmn., Sm. 16. 1 —

vimuktaḥ kaluṣaiḥ sarvaiḥ Śaivaṁ padam=avāpnuyāt ||

152 Vāyu Purāṇa, 59. 116.

153 Mbh., III. 81. 88.

154 Padma Purāṇa, III. 13.78 —

tato gaccheta dharmajña Dadhīcasya nar-ādhipa |
tīrtham puṇyatamaṁ rājan Pāvanaṁ loka-viśrutam ||

155 Mbh., III. Ch. 98.

156 See Rāmahrada above.

157 Padma Purāṇa, III. 13.79.

158 A S I, Vol. XIV, p. 101.

159 Mbh., III. 81.89 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 12.107.

160 Vmn., Baṅgabāsi ed., 37. 3-4. There is a river called Amṛta ; but it is not known whether the pilgrim spot was associated with it. For the river called Amṛta, see Sachau, Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 262.

161 Vmn., Sm. 16. 3-4.

162 Ibid., Sm. 16.3 — Hanumān prakāṣi-kṛtaḥ ; Vāyu Purāṇa, 59. 118- Hanumān yatra jīvitaḥ.

163 Vāyu Purāṇa, 59.122

164 Ibid., 59. 123 —

Nava-Durgāḥ sthitās=tatra kṣetra-saṁrakṣaṇāya ca |

165 Loc. cit.

166 Ibid., 59. 124 —

vivāha-vrata-cūḍāsu karaṁ teṣāṁ pradīyate |

167 Mbh., III. 81.90 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 12.108.

168 Vmn., Sm. 16.6 —

tatra snātṛvā vimuktas=tu kaluṣair=deha-sambhavaib |

169 Mbh., III. 81.90.

128 Kurukṣetra in the Vāmana Purāṇa

- 170 Vmn., Sm. 16. 6-7 ; also Mbh., III. 81. 91 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 12. 109.
- 171 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 98.
- 172 Vmn., Sm. 16. 8 —
Naimiṣasya ca snānena yat puṇyaṁ tat samāpnuyāt ।
- 173 Mbh., III. 81. 92-93 —
Rṣayaḥ kila rājendra Naimiṣeyās = tapasvinaḥ ॥
tīrtha-yātrām puraṣ = kṛtya Kurukṣetraṁ gatāḥ purā ।
tatra kuñjaḥ Sarasvatyām kṛto Bharata-sattama ॥
- 174 Naimiṣāranya is identified with modern Nimsar on the bank of the Gumti in the Sītapur District. See B. C. Law, Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 113. The Vāyu Purāṇa locates it on the bank of the Dṛṣadvatī (1. 14.) ; but according to Law, it is erroneous (op.cit., p. 113).
- 175 See note 173 above, particularly the word purā.
- 176 Vmn., Sm. 16. 8.
- 177 Mbh., III. 81. 94.
- 178 Vmn., Sm. 16. 12.
- 179 Ibid., verses 9-10 ; see also verse 11.
- 180 Rāmāyaṇa, VII. Ch. 17.
- 181 Vmn., Sm. 16. 12-13.
- 182 Padma Purāṇa, III. 13. 1.
- 183 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 98.
- 184 Ibid., p. 104.
- 185 Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 45 and note and p. 46 ; see also IHQ, Vol. XXVII, p. 221 ; B. C. Law, Historical Geography of Ancient India, pp. 340-41.
- 186 Vmn., Sm. 16. 14 —
yatra varṇāvaraḥ snātvā Brāhmaṇyaṁ labhate naraḥ ।
See also Padma Purāṇa, III. 13. 2-3 ; Mbh., III. 81. 95 ; 83. 32.
- 187 There was another Soma-tīrtha between the second and third dvārapālas. See above.

- 188 Vmn., Sm. 16. 15. For Soma-tīrtha see also Padma Purāṇa, III. 13.76-77.
- 189 Ibid., Sm. 16. 16 —
nirmalaḥ svargam = āyāti kārṭṭikyām candramā yathā ||
The reading is different in the Baṅgabāsi ed.
- 190 Mbh., III. 81. 96 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 13. 4.
- 191 ASI, Vol XIV, p. 100.
- 192 See the Sarasvatī above.
- 193 Vmn., 36. 55 —
etāḥ sapta sarasvatyo nivaśiṣyanti nityaśaḥ |
soma-pāna-phalaṁ sarvāḥ prayacchanti supuṇyadāḥ ||
- 194 Ibid., Sm. 17. 7-23. All these verses are adopted from Mbh., III. 81. 98 ff. with some modification. See also Vmn., 36. 44-53 and Padma Purāṇa, III. 13.5-24. For the symbolical meaning of the legends, see V. S. Agrawala, Vāmana Purāṇa — a Study, pp. 72-73.
- 195 Vmn., 36. 52 —
idaṁ ca tīrthaṁ pravaraṁ pṛthivyām
Pṛthūdakasy = āstu samam phalena ||
In the Kūrma Purāṇa, the legend of Maṅkaṇa is associated with the Sapta-godāvara-tīrtha (Kūrma Purāṇa, II. 34. 44-76).
- 196 Vmn., 46. 70-75. The legend is narrated in Vmn., Sm. 17. 2-7. The celestial beauty mentioned here is Rambhā. Again it is said here that the semen was collected in a jar. The seed was divided into several portions and seven Maruts were born from them.
- 197 R̥gveda, X. 129. 4.
- 198 See ibid., V. 44. 15 ; I. 161. 9.
- 199 Vmn., Sm. 17. 21.
- 200 Ibid., Sm. 17. 22.
- 201 Mbh., III. 81. 116 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 13. 27.
- 202 This tīrtha is situated on the bank of the Oghavati river. See Vmn., 36.40.
- 203 Ibid., Sm. 21. 24.

- 204 Ibid., Sm. 18. 1 — grahatvaṁ ca samāptavān ; see also P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. IV, p. 736.
- 205 Vmn., Sm. 21. 25 —
graha-madhyeṣu pūjyate tasya tīrthasya sevanāt ||
- 206 Ibid., Sm. 18. 2.
- 207 Padma Purāṇa, III. 13. 25-26.
- 208 Vmn., 36. 39-44.
- 209 Ibid., Sm. 18. 3-13. See also Mbh., III. 81. 117 where the name is mentioned, but not the legend. See also Mbh., Gītā Press ed., IX. 39. 4 and 16-22 ; Padma Purāṇa, I. 27. 24-26.
- 210 According to V. S. Agrawala, there are two elements in the man's head, viz., the good and the evil. Man may get rid of the latter by his association with the Auśanasa-tīrtha. See Vāmana Purāṇa—a Study, p. 73.
- 211 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 72.
- 212 The old town of Sadhora is situated 24 miles to the east of Ambala on the bank of the Khandra river, a principal branch of the Sarsuti. See ASI, Vol. XIV, pp. 72, 75, 77 ; N. L. Dey, op.cit., p. 90.
- 213 Vmn., 3. 49-51.
- 214 Ibid., Sm. 18. 3-13.
- 215 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 76. This pool is more than 1000 ft. in length and 400-ft. in breadth (in dry season 300 ft. and 200 ft. respectively).
- 216 See Rṇamocana-tīrtha below.
- 217 There are remains of ruined temples and inscriptions, the readings of which according to Cunningham, runs — (the left side inscription) Sri bhājisthitassa maty a setbhicha and (the right side one) Sate cāpi pancaṣastyādhike tathā Māgha māse sita. 'When (?) hundred and sixty-five years had elapsed in the month of Magha, the bright (half) —.' The ornamental stones which formed part of the facing of the old temple, belonged, according to Cunningham, to the Gupta period. The style is similar to that of the structures

at Bhilsa and Eran which undoubtedly belonged to the time of the latter Guptas. The left hand fragment is, however, of earlier date, as the letters 's' and 'th' in it have forms older than those of the same letters in the right hand fragment. See ASI, Vol. XIV, pp. 75-78.

218 Vmn., Sm. 18. 14-15 —

tatr = āpi sumahat-tīrtham

Viśvāmitrasya viśrutam |

Brāhmaṇyaṁ labdhavān yatra

Viśvāmitro mahāmuniḥ ||

tasmims = tīrtha-vare snātva

Brāhmaṇyaṁ labhate dhruvam |

Brāhmaṇas = tu viśuddh-ātmā

paraṁ padam = avāpnuyāt ||

Mbh., III. 81. 120 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 13. 29-31.

219 Skanda Purāṇa, VI. 4. 28 ff.

220 Mbh., IX. Ch. 43. Also see N. L. Dey, op.cit., p. 39.

221 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 103.

222 Loc. cit.

223 ASI, Vol. XIV ; Ep. Ind., Vol. I, 1892, pp. 184 ff ; A. Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 283 ; P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. IV ; A. K. Chatterjee's article in the Bhakti Cult and Ancient Indian Geography, ed. Sircar, pp. 201-02.

224 Vmn., Sm. 18. 20.

225 Mbh., III. 81. 126 — v.l. uttame sarvatīrthānām.

226 Ibid., Gītā Press ed., 83. 147 — v.l. na punar = janma-samlabhet.

227 Ibid., IX. 39. 33-34.

228 In the first line tīre and in the second line n = ainam śvo maraṇam tapet of the Mahābhārata are replaced by tirtha and nūnam c = āmaratām vrajet respectively in the Vāmana Purāṇa.

229 Vmn., 24. 4 — Kurukṣetre puṇya-tīrtham Pṛthūdakam.

230 See above.

231 Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 184 ff. ; Sircar, Śāk., p. 94 ; Census

- of India, 1961, Punjab, District Census Handbook, No. 4, Karnal District, p. 11. Pehoa is 29°59' north and 76°35' east. See Punjab District Gazetteers, Karnal District, 1918, p. 217.
- 232 Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 385.
- 233 Vmn., Baṅgabāsi ed. 21. 21 —
tatra Pṛthūdake tīrthe pūjyantām pitaro = 'vyayāḥ |
- 234 Vmn., 24. 8 —
Āsādhe māsi mārgarkṣe Candra-kṣaya-tithir = hi yā |
tasyām Purandaraḥ prītaḥ piṇḍam pitṛṣu bhaktitaḥ ||
- 235 Ibid., Sm. 18. 20. See above.
- 236 It is also known as Haridvāra. Here the Gaṅgā comes down to the plain from the Himalayas. See Sircar, Śāk., p. 84.
- 237 Vmn., 18. 16-20.
- 238 For the superiority of the Pṛthūdaka-tīrtha, see Padma Purāṇa, III. 13. 35 and 38.
- 239 Vmn., 32. 114 —
taṁ prāha Viṣṇur = vraja tīrtha-varyam
Pṛthūdakam pāpa-taroḥ kuṭhāram |
snātva = Aughavatyām Haram = iksya bhaktyā
bhaviṣyase sūrya-sama-prabhāvaḥ ||
- 240 Ibid., 32. 100 ff.
- 241 Ibid., 32. 101 —
pradakṣiṇam śighrataram yaḥ
kuryāt Krauñcam = eva hi ||
- 242 Mbh., III. 81. 122 —
Pṛthūdakam = iti khyātam Kārttikeyasya vai nṛpa ;
see also Padma Purāṇa, III. 13. 32.
- 243 Vmn., 25. 73-74.
- 244 Ibid., 24. 9-10.
- 245 Ibid., 22. 20-21 —
tatra Pṛthūdake tīrthe pūjyantām pitaro = 'vyayāḥ ||
mahā-tithyām mahā-puṇye yadi śatru-parābhavam |
jihāsatātmanah sarve ittham vai kriyatām = iti ||
- 246 Mbh., III. 81. 124.

- 247 Ibid., III. 81. 121 ; Vmn., Sm. 18. 21-25 ; 31. 94.
- 248 This conception of the origin of the castes is borrowed from the R̥gvedic passage (X. 90. 12) which runs as follows —
 Brāhmaṇo = 'sya mukham = āsīd = bāhū Rājanyaḥ kṛtāḥ |
 urū tad = asya yad = Vaiśyaḥ padbhyāṁ Śūdro ajāyata ||
- 249 Vmn., Sm. 18. 25-36 ; Padma Purāṇa, I. 27. 41-45 ; Mbh., Gitā Press ed., IX. 41. 1 ff. This tīrtha is absent from the list of the tīrthas of Kurukṣetra mentioned in Mbh., III. Ch. 81.
- 250 Padma Purāṇa, III. 13. 44.
- 251 Vmn., Sm. 18. 39 ; Mbh., III. 81, 130. This tīrtha is also called Madhupura (see Padma Purāṇa, III. 13. 40), Cunningham was informed that the pool remains dry during some parts of the year. See ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 102.
- 252 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 102.
- 253 Vmn., Sm., 18. 37-38 ; Mbh., IX. Ch. 42.
- 254 He was the common ancestor of both the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. See ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 102.
- 255 Vmn., 112. 45 —
 tīrtheṣu yad-vat pravaraṁ Pṛthūdakam |
- 256 Mbh., III. 81. 125 and 128 ; see also XII. 152. 11 of the Gitā Press ed. and Padma Purāṇa, III. Ch. 13.
- 257 See Sthāṇu-tīrtha below.
- 258 'On his death (Vena's) his son Pṛthu performed the usual śrāddha or funeral ceremonies, and for twelve days after the cremation he sat on the bank of the Sarasvatī offering water to all. The place was therefore named Pṛthūdaka or Pṛthu's pool, from 'daka' or 'udaka' water and the city which he afterwards built on the spot was called by the same name' — Cunningham, The Ancient Geography of India, p. 283.
- 259 Vmn., Chs. 26-27.
- 260 Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 185-86.
- 261 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 184.

- 262 ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 102. Cunningham identified the Aruṇā with present Mārkaṇḍa. See also N. L. Dey, op.cit., p. 11.
- 263 Mbh., III. 83. 133 ff.; Vmn., Sm. 19. 41 — Sm. 20. 4.
- 264 Mbh., III. 81. 136 —
 samudrās = c = āpi catvāraḥ samanītās = ca Darbhīṇā |
 teṣu snāto nara-vyāghra na durgatim = avāpnuyāt ||
 See also Padma Purāṇa, III. 13. 47.
- 265 Mbh., Gītā Press ed., III. 83. 154.
- 266 Vmn., Sm. 20. 1-2 —
 samudrās = tatra catvāro Darbhīṇā āhutāḥ purā |
 praty-ekam tu naraḥ snāto go-sahasra-phalam labhet ||
 yat kiñcit kriyate tasmims = tapas = tīrthe dvij-
 ottamāḥ |
 paripūrṇam hi tat sarvam = api duṣkṛta-karmaṇaḥ ||
- 267 Mbh., Gītā Press ed., IX. 43. 30-35 ; Vmn., Sm. 19. 1-40.
 This is narrated differently in the Skanda Purāṇa, VI. 172. 1-173. 16.
- 268 Vasiṣṭha was the mind-born son of Brahman and the husband of Arundhatī. He was able to bring lust and cruelty under control and therefore received the name. See Mbh., Gītā Press ed., I. 173. 5-6.
- 269 Those Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras who maltreat the Brāhmaṇas and also those who are born as a result of the sexual crime of wicked women are known as Rākṣasas (Vmn., Sm. 19. 34-35). For the legend see also Census of India, 1961, Vol. XIII, Punjab, Part VII-B, Fairs and Festivals, pp. 12-13.
- 270 Vmn., Sm. 19. 41-42.
- 271 Ibid., Sm. 19. 43.
- 272 Mbh., III. 81. 137.
- 273 Ibid., III. 81. 137-38 ; Vmn., Sm. 20. 3 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 13. 49-50.
- 274 Vmn., Sm. 20-4.
- 275 The tīrtha is probably named after Reṇukā, the mother of Paraśurāma.

- 276 Mbh., III. 81. 139 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 13. 51-52.
- 277 Vmn., Sm. 20. 5 —
mātṛ-bhaktyā ca yat puṇyam
tat phalaṁ prāpnuyān=naraḥ ॥
- 278 See N. L. Dey, op.cit., p. 168.
- 279 Kalyāṇa, Tīrthāṅka, p. 68 ; See Kantawala, Cultural History from the Matsya Purāṇa, p. 378.
- 280 Mbh., III. 81. 140.
- 281 Sircar, Śāk., p. 95.
- 282 Vmn., Sm. 20. 6.
- 283 Matsya Purāṇa, 22. 67.
- 284 Kalyāṇa, Tīrthāṅka, p. 66.
- 285 Mbh., III. 81. 143-44 —
Aujasaṁ Vāruṇaṁ tīrthaṁ
dīpyate svena tejasā ।
yatra Brahm-ādibhir=devair=
ṛṣibhiḥ=ca tapodhanaiḥ ॥
sainā patyena devānām=
abhiṣikto guhas=tadā ।
- 286 Ibid., III. 81. 144 —
Aujasasya tu pūrveṇa kuru-tīrthaṁ Kurūdvaha ॥
- 287 Vmn., Sm. 20. 6-7 ; see also Bhakti Cult and Ancient Indian Geography, p. 203.
- 288 Vmn., Sm. 20. 8 —
Gayā-śrāddhe ca yat puṇyam
tat puṇyam prāpnuyān=naraḥ ॥
- 289 Ibid., Sm. 20. 9 —
Sannihityām yathā śrāddhaṁ rāhu-graste divākare ।
tathā śrāddhaṁ tatra kṛtaṁ n=ātra kāryā vicāraṇā ॥
Compare Lakṣmīdhara, Kṛtyakalpataru, GOS, Vol. VIII, p. 249 —
Sannihityām=amāvāsyām prabhāte vā tathā punaḥ ।
Aujase tu naraḥ snātvā mucyate sarva-kilbiṣaiḥ ॥
- 290 Vmn., Sm. 20. 10 —
Ojase hy=akṣayaṁ śrāddhaṁ Vāyunā kathitaṁ purā ।
- 291 Ibid., 63. 17 — Ajeśe Śambhum=anagham.

- 292 Mbh., III. 81. 142.
- 293 Vmn., Sm. 20. 13 —
 tatra snātv = ārcayitvā ca deva-devaṃ Maheśvaram ।
 Gāṇapatyam = avāpnoti daivataiḥ saha modate ॥
 But this is not mentioned in the Padma Purāṇa (III. 13. 54), although the tīrtha is associated there with Sthāṇu or Śiva.
- 294 See above.
- 295 Mbh., III. 81. 144 ; Vmn., Sm. 20. 19.
- 296 Padma Purāṇa, III. 13. 58.
- 297 Vmn., Sm. 20. 20.
- 298 Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 248.
- 299 Vmn., Sm. 20. 21 —
 Kurukṣetre punyatamaṃ kuru-tīrtham dvij = ottamāḥ ।
 See also Kūrma Purāṇa, II. 35. 5-6.
- 300 Mbh., III. 81. 145 ; Vmn., Sm. 20. 23 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 13. 59.
- 301 Mbh., III. 81. 147-50 ; Padma Purāṇa, III. 13. 60-65.
- 302 Vmn., Sm. 20. 24-25 —
 yatra pūrve sthito Brahmā
 dakṣiṇe tu Maheśvaraḥ ॥
 Rudrapatnī paścimataḥ
 Padmanābh-ottare sthitaḥ ।
 madhye Anarkam tīrtham
 trailokyasy = āpi durlabham ॥
- 303 Ibid., Sm. 20. 28-30.
- 304 Kūrma Purāṇa, I. 38. 5 —
 paścime Dharmarājasya
 tīrtham tv = Anarakam smṛtam ।
 See also Padma Purāṇa, I. 27. 56.
- 305 Kūrma Purāṇa, I. 38. 6.
- 306 ASI, Vol. XIV, pp. 104-06 ; Vol. II, p. 212.
- 307 Vmn., Sm. 21. 3-4.
- 308 Ibid., Sm. 21. 12 —
 te stuvanto Mahādevam Nandinam Gaṇa-nāyakam ।
- 309 Ibid., verses 10-14.
- 310 Ibid., verse 16.

- 311 Loc. cit.
- 312 Ibid., verses 18-19.
- 313 Ibid., verses 20-21.
- 314 Ibid., verse 23 —
tasmāt Prāci sadā sevyā pañcamyām ca viṣeṣataḥ ||
- 315 Ibid., verse 21.
- 316 Ibid., verses 28-29 ; see also P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. IV, p. 743.
- 317 ASI, Vol. II, p. 212.
- 318 Vmn., Sm. 25. 1 ; 57. 42-43.
- 319 Mbh., III. 81. 165 ; see also Padma Purāṇa, III. 13. 80-81.
- 320 See Chs. Sm. 23 — Sm. 28.
- 321 600-50 A.D. See P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. V, Part II, p. xxiii.
- 322 Pp. 79-83.
- 323 ASI, Vol. II, pp. 212-13 ; McCrindle's Ancient India, ed. S. N. Majumdar, 1927, p. 128. Also see Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. XII, 1921, p. 261.
- 324 Mbh., III. 81. 179.
- 325 Ibid., IX, Ch. 43. It was visited by Hiuen-tsang who called it Sa-ta-ni-ssu (shi)-fa-lo. See tr. Watters, Vol. I, p. 314 ; Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 276. Thūna of the Vinaya Mahāvagga (V. 13. 12) and Divyāvadāna (ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 22) is identified with the Sthāṇu-tīrtha by S. N. Majumdar (see Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. xiii). Thūna is mentioned in the Jātakas (VI. 62) as a Brāhmaṇa village.
- 326 See 7. 37 ; Sm. 1. 9 ; Sm. 21. 5-6 ; Sm. 22. 34-35 ; Sm. 25. 2, 14 etc.
- 327 ASI, Vol. XIV, pp. 104-06 ; also see Vol. II, p. 212.
- 328 Ancient Geography of India, p. 279.
- 329 Vmn., Sm. 11. 24.
- 330 See Rāma-hrada and Pavana-hrada above.
- 331 See Rāma-hrada above.
- 332 Vmn., Sm. 24. 29.

333 Ibid., Sm. 19. 4 —

yatr = eṣṭvā bhagavān Sthāṇuḥ pūjayitvā Sarasvatīm |
sthāpayāmāsa dev-eśo liṅg-ākārām Sarasvatīm ||

334 Ibid., Sm. 22. 34 —

yasmin sthāne sthitam hy = aṇḍam
tasmin Sannihitam saraḥ ||

335 Ibid., Sm. 22. 37 —

nābhi-sthāne yad = udakam
Brahmaṇo nirmalam mahat |
mahat saras = tena pūrṇam
vimalena var-āmbhasā ||

336 Ibid., Sm. 22. 38 —

tasmin madhye Sthāṇu-rūpī vaṭa-vṛkṣo mah-ātmanah |

337 For the legend, see above; also the Religious Life
below. See also Vmn., Sm. 22. 43-23. 36.

338 Ibid., Sm. 23. 14 —

Sthāṇur = nāmnā hi lokesu pūjanīyo divaukasām ||
For the beginning of the liṅga cult, see ABORI, Vol.
XIII, pp. 149 ff.

339 Ibid., Sm. 24. 7.

340 Ibid., Sm. 24. 8-12.

341 Ibid., Sm. 24. 18 —

evam jñātvā tadā Brahmā liṅgam śaila-mayaṁ tadā |
ādyā-liṅgam tad = āsthāpya tasya = opari dadhāra tat ||

342 Ibid., Sm. 24. 21.

343 Ibid., Ch. Sm. 25.

344 Ibid., Sm. 25. 1 —

Sthāṇor = vaṭasya = ottarataḥ Śukra-tīrtham prakīrtitam |

345 Ibid., Sm. 25. 8.

346 Ibid., Sm. 25. 20.

347 Ibid., Sm. 25. 42.

348 Ibid., Sm. 25. 47 —

tathā hy = uttaratas = tasya yāvad = Oghavatī nadī |
sahasram = ekam liṅgānām deva-pāścimataḥ sthitam ||

349 Ibid., Sm. 25. 1.

350 Ibid., Sm. 25. 10.

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- 351 Ibid., Sm. 25. 44.
 352 Ibid., Sm. 25. 46.
 353 Ibid., Sm. 25. 48.
 354 Ibid., Sm. 25. 15-16 —
 tasya c=ottara-dig-bhāge Rāvaṇena mahātmanā ॥
 pratiṣṭhitam mahā-liṅgam Cokaṛṇam nāma nāmataḥ ।
 355 Ibid., Sm. 25. 25.
 356 Ibid., Sm. 25. 32.
 357 Ibid., Sm. 25. 33-35.
 358 Ibid., Sm. 25. 2.
 359 Ibid., Sm. 25. 14.
 360 Ibid., Sm. 25. 26.
 361 Ibid., Sm. 25. 27.
 362 Ibid., Sm. 25. 28.
 363 Ibid., Sm. 25. 31.
 364 Ibid., Sm. 25. 36 —
 tasya dakṣiṇato liṅgam Vajriṇā sthāpitam purā ।
 365 Ibid., Sm. 25. 49.
 366 Ibid., Sm. 25. 2.
 367 Ibid., Sm. 25. 13.
 368 Ibid., Sm. 25. 30.
 369 Ibid., Sm. 25. 39.
 370 Ibid., Sm. 25. 41.
 371 Sachu, Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 199.
 372 Watters, Yuan Chwang's Travels, Vol. I, p. 316.
 373 Sircar, The Bhakti Cult and Ancient Geography of India, p. 174 note.
 374 This is a little more than the measurement of Hiuen-tsang. See Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 278. According to the Punjab District Gazetteers, Karnal District, 1883-84 (p. 252), Thanesar is located 29° 42' 17" north and 77° 1' 45" east, but *ibid.*, 1918 (p. 215) places it at 29° 59' north and 76° 50' east.
 375 Vmn., Sm. 25. 4 —
 pade pade yajña-phalam sa prāpnoti na saṁśayaḥ ॥
 376 Ibid., Sm. 25. 8 — siddhiṁ prāpnoti.

- 377 Ibid., Sm. 25. 9 — Sarva-kāma-pradāyakam.
- 378 Ibid., Sm. 25. 13 —
pradakṣiṇīkṛtā tena sapta-dvīpā vasundharā ।
- 379 Ibid., Sm. 25. 14 — sarva-pāpaiḥ pramucyate.
- 380 Ibid., Sm. 25. 15 —
tasmin snātaḥ sarva-tīrthe snāto bhavati mānavaḥ ।
- 381 Ibid., Sm. 25. 18 —
kaumāra-Brahmacaryeṇa yat puṇyaṁ prāpyate naraiḥ ।
tat puṇyaṁ sakalāṁ tasya ॥
- 382 Ibid., Sm. 25. 19 —
paramaṁ rūpaṁ saubhāgyaṁ dhana-sampadaḥ ।
- 383 Ibid., Sm. 25. 20.
- 384 Ibid., Sm. 25. 29 — Agniṣṭoma-phalaṁ labhet.
- 385 Ibid., Sm. 25. 35.
- 386 Ibid., Sm. 25. 37.
- 387 Ibid., Sm. 25. 38 —
sarvajñatvaṁ Brahma-jñānaṁ
prāptaṁ deva-prasādataḥ ॥
- 388 Ibid., Sm. 25. 43 — cakram labdham sudarśanam.
- 389 There is a legend on this. The wicked king Vena stopped the performance of sacrifices and charity. In consequence, he was born in his next birth among the mlecchas and was affected with consumption and leprosy. But at last he was saved by his son who utilized the virtue of the Sthāṇu-tīrtha. Then he recited a long hymn which pleased lord Śaṅkara and the lord granted him a boon by virtue of which he became free in his following birth (as a dog). See *ibid.*, Sm. 26 and Sm. 27. Also see the Religious Life below.
- 390 There is a legend in this connection. The head of Brahman was split as a result of having an illicit sexual relation with his own daughter. But he was emancipated from the sin, by the grace of Śiva. Then Brahman installed four liṅgas of Śiva at different places, e.g., one at the Brahmasaras by the side of Hari

as is appropriate for the Satya-yuga, the second at Brahmasadana in his own hermitage as appropriate for the Tretā-yuga, the third to the east of the Sthāṇu-hrada as appropriate for the Dvāpara and the last on the bank of the Sarasvatī as appropriate for the Kali-yuga. He also worshipped the Caturmukha Śiva on the northern bank of the Sarasvatī. See *ibid.*, Ch. Sm. 28.

391 *Ibid.*, Sm. 28. 44 —

lolā-saṅkara-saṁbhūtais = tathā vaibhāṇḍa-saṅkaraiḥ ||

Ibid., Sm. 28. 45 —

vimukto rājasair = bhāvair =

varṇa-saṅkara-sambhavaḥ ||

Chapter VIII

RELIGIOUS LIFE

1. Gods and Goddesses

The Brāhmaṇical trinity — Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva — were worshipped at Kurukṣetra. Apart from them, Indra, Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa, Soma, the Aśvins, the Maruts and also the goddesses influenced the life and the culture of the people who inhabited this region.

(i) Brahman

In the Ṛgveda there is a legend of incestuous relation between the father and his daughter.¹ The tradition is elaborated in the Brāhmaṇas,² which say that Prajāpati performed this vile act and that Rudra was approached by the gods who wanted punishment for such an act and he discharged his arrow at Prajāpati. This relation between Prajāpati and Rudra is mentioned in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa³ in a different way. It is said that Prajāpati performed a sacrifice, but Rudra was deprived of his requisite share in it. So Rudra cut off a portion of the sacrifice.⁴

The story is elaborated in the Vāmana Purāṇa⁵; but the relation between the two gods is no more hostile. The Purāṇic legend runs as follows.

Brahman produced a daughter, dark in complexion like the petals of a blue lotus (nīl-otpala-dala-śyāmā). Later on he enjoyed her and thus incurred sin. Because of this sin the head of Brahman was split. With a view to removing this sin, Brahman came to the Sthāṇu-tīrtha on the bank of the Sarasvatī, worshipped lord Sthāṇu and recited the Rudra-Sūkta. Rudra was pleased and appeared on the spot. Brahman bowed his head before Śiva and

recited a long prayer to Śiva. Thus he became free from all sins. He then installed a liṅga in the Sannihita lake.

The Brahman of the post-Ṛgvedic mythology, with four faces and four arms, resembles Viśvakarman who is described in the Ṛgveda as all seeing, having eyes, a face, arms and feet on every side.⁶ In the Sūtras, Prajāpati, the first sacrificer,⁷ is identified with Brahman.⁸ In the Purāṇas, Brahman is described as the five faced creator of the universe.⁹ In the days of Boar Incarnation, one of the five heads was severed by Śiva, then Brahman had four heads left.¹⁰ He is called padmaja,¹¹ padma-janman,¹² padma-sambhūta¹³ and Kamal-āsana.¹⁴ Elsewhere in the Purāṇa it is said that the Grandfather Brahman was born in the egg in the vicinity of the Sthānu-tīrtha.¹⁵ He is bhagavān and the Grandfather of the universe (loka-pitāmaha) and creator of all beings, movable and immovable.¹⁶ Sometimes he is made subordinate to Śiva. Śambhu is said in the Purāṇa to be the lord of the gods, and Brahman the lord of the people.¹⁷ On one occasion Śaṅkara stood up out of affection for his son and taking Brahman by the right hand went to the presence of Kārttikeya.¹⁸ Prajāpati, the progenitor of all beings, is said to be rested in the testicles of Viṣṇu,¹⁹ and thus his position is in this case subordinate to Viṣṇu. Kurukṣetra has special attraction for him, for it is called the northern altar of Brahman.²⁰ A great number of tīrthas in the area, e.g., Brahmodumbara, Brahmāvarta, etc., are associated with this god.

(ii) Viṣṇu

Viṣṇu has for himself only five whole hymns and a part of another of the Ṛgveda. Naturally his position is subordinate to Indra and many other gods. He belongs to the fourth rank.²¹ His peculiar feature, the three strides is mentioned in the Ṛgveda.²² Two of the steps are visible to men ; but the third, which is the highest, is beyond the

knowledge of man.²³ The area of this third step is full of honey.²⁴ Garuḍa is said to be the vehicle of Viṣṇu. In the R̥gveda Viṣṇu is presented as friendly to Indra.²⁵ The Brāhmaṇas represent Viṣṇu as adopting the form of Vāmana to recover the earth from the demons and to give her to the gods.²⁶ According to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,²⁷ Viṣṇu acquired the power of the gods by striding through the three worlds. According to the Taittirīya Saṃhitā,²⁸ Viṣṇu assumed the form of a dwarf to conquer the worlds. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa²⁹ Viṣṇu is represented as the highest of the gods. He is mentioned also as the door-keeper of the gods, probably in the sense that he protects them.³⁰

In the Vāmana Purāṇa the different incarnations of Viṣṇu, holding conch, lotus, discus, bow, club and sword in his hands³¹ are mentioned.³² The Vāmana incarnation has special association with Kurukṣetra. According to the Purāṇa, Viṣṇu was born as the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi and as brother of Indra in this incarnation.³³ Viṣṇu assumed the form of a dwarf so that the demons could not suspect him.³⁴ But as the legend runs, Bali was aware of the coming of the Dwarf Incarnation to his sacrificial spot and his priest Śukra previously warned him to be cautious regarding the offering to be made to the Vāmana. Vāmana deprived Bali of the three lokas and offered these to Indra.³⁵ He is superior to Brahman who praises him.³⁶ His birth in the āśrama of Aditi, his visit to the sacrifice of Bali, the growth of the pilgrim spots called the Vāmanaka-tīrtha,³⁷ the Viṣṇupada (where Viṣṇu deprived Bali),³⁸ etc., prove the prevalence of Viṣṇu worship in Kurukṣetra. Viṣṇu is called the lotus-navel god of the gods^{38a} and of the world, the omniscient³⁹ Primeval Being.⁴⁰ The limbs of Viṣṇu are described in the Purāṇa as follows :

the moon and the sun are his eyes, the earth feet, the Piśācas fingers of the feet, the Guhyakas fingers of hand, the Viśvadevas knees, the Sādhyas shanks, the Yakṣas nails,

the rays of the sun hair, the Aśvins ears, Vāyu nose, Sarasvatī tongue, Aditi neck, Tvaṣṭṛ and Pūṣan eye-brows and so on.⁴¹

Though the name Nārāyaṇa is mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, it was not yet associated with Viṣṇu.⁴² In the later Brāhmaṇic literature, Nārāyaṇa has already appeared as the Supreme Being.⁴³ In the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, Nārāyaṇa is directly related to Viṣṇu.⁴⁴ In the Vāmana Purāṇa, Nārāyaṇa is a synonym of Viṣṇu.⁴⁵ Here Nārāyaṇa, Hari, Kṛṣṇa, Janārdana and Viṣṇu are identical.⁴⁶ Waters are verily the Nāra. Because he reclines on them, he is known as Nārāyaṇa.⁴⁷ The wise thousand-eyed god Nārāyaṇa, who is the source of prosperity, is realised through the union of the individual with the supreme self.⁴⁸ He is called the guru of the entire world.⁴⁹ The Sarasvatī-kūpa in the vicinity of the Durgā-tīrtha was associated with Nara and Nārāyaṇa.⁵⁰

Vāsudeva as a god was already familiar in the days of Pāṇini.⁵¹ In the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, he is identified with Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa.⁵² In the Vāmana Purāṇa, he is mentioned several times⁵³ and his militant nature is not completely subdued.⁵⁴

Thus the Vedic Viṣṇu, the cosmic and philosophic god Nārāyaṇa and his historical figure Vāsudeva are mingled together for later Vaiṣṇavism⁵⁵ which was prevalent in Kurukṣetra in the days of composition of the Vāmana Purāṇa.

(iii) Śiva

Śiva is one of the most prominent deities of the Purāṇas though Rudra had only a subordinate position in the Ṛgveda.⁵⁶ Rudra's physical features, his weapons, his relation with other gods and his nature are mentioned in the Vedic literature. He has arms,⁵⁷ thousand eyes,⁵⁸

belly, mouth, tongue, teeth,⁶⁰ a blue neck,⁶⁰ blue tuft⁶¹ and is copper-coloured and red.⁶² The weapons of Rudra are the thunder bolt,⁶³ bow and arrows.⁶⁴ The gods associated with Rudra are the Maruts,⁶⁵ Ambikā,⁶⁶ Agni,⁶⁷ Śarva and Bhava.⁶⁸ Rudra is also called Trayambaka (having three eyes),⁶⁹ Paśupati,⁷⁰ Iśāna,⁷¹ Śiva,⁷² Mahādeva⁷³ etc. He opposes the misdoings of gods⁷⁴ and gives protection⁷⁵ and offers blessings.⁷⁶ Some disgraceful characteristics are associated with Rudra in the Vājasaneyi Samhitā.⁷⁷ These are similar to the cruel, fearful, impure and repulsive nature of Śiva in the post-Vedic period.⁷⁸

The role of Śiva is more prominent than that of Rudra in the epic literature. The marriage between Śiva and Umā,⁷⁹ the episode concerning Śiva and Kandarpa,⁸⁰ the birth of Kārttikeya,⁸¹ Rudra's drinking of the poison,⁸² the sacrifice of Dakṣa, Arjuna's prayer to Durgā, the consort of Śiva,⁸³ Arjuna obtaining the Pāśupata weapon from Śiva,⁸⁴ Kṛṣṇa worshipping Mahādeva,⁸⁵ and accepting him as the supreme deity clearly reveal this supposition.

The Vedico-epic tradition is maintained in the Purāṇas. Śiva is called Iśa,⁸⁶ Iśāna,⁸⁷ Mahādeva,⁸⁸ Maheśvara,⁸⁹ Devamañi,⁹⁰ etc. Thus his supremacy remains unquestioned. He has three eyes,⁹¹ his weapons are Pināka⁹² and Śūla,⁹³ his carrier is the bull,⁹⁴ his emblem is also the bull,⁹⁵ he is known as Bhava⁹⁶ and Śarva,⁹⁷ and is associated with the beasts⁹⁸ and ghosts,⁹⁹ he is said to be the destroyer of the sacrifice of Dakṣa (Dakṣa-yajñaghna),¹⁰⁰ he is one having three eyes¹⁰¹ and his consort is called Umā¹⁰² and Bhavānī.¹⁰³

In the Vāmana Purāṇa, there are some Śaiva legends which are associated with Kurukṣetra. These are noticed below :

(1) The great sage Mañkanaka,¹⁰⁴ who lived at the Sapta-sārasvata tīrtha in Kurukṣetra, thought himself to be the most vigorous man. But he was ashamed when he

saw the extraordinary power of Śiva. He fell at the lord's feet and uttered the following verses—

n=ānyaṁ devād=ahaṁ manye Śūlapāṇer=mahātmanah ।

carācarasya jagato varas=tvam=asi Śūladhṛk ॥

tad-āśrayaś=ca dṛśyante surā brahmādayo='nagha ।

pūrvas=tvam=asi devānām kartā kāravitā mahat ॥ ¹⁰⁶

(2) Once Śiva, with bare body and a begging bowl in hand went to the hermitages in the Dāruvana.¹⁰⁶ Seeing him the ladies of the hermitages were unable to check their passion. At this the sages were enraged and hit the lord so that his liṅga fell down. The sages were ashamed. They went to Brahman who said,

gacchāmaḥ śaraṇaṁ devaṁ Śūla-pāṇim tri-locanam ।

prasādāt deva-devasya bhaviṣyatha yathā purā ॥ ¹⁰⁷

Then Brahman went to Śiva along with the sages and propitiated him. Being advised by Śiva they tried to take the liṅga from the Dāruvana to the lake Sannihita, but could not move it. So Śiva in the form of an elephant¹⁰⁸ took the liṅga and placed it on the western side of the lake Sannihita.

(3) King Vena¹⁰⁹ declared that no sacrifice was to be performed in his kingdom, nor any donation would be made. He was corrupt in action and suffered in consequence from leprosy in the land of the Mlecchas after his death. In the next birth he became a dog. But due to the virtue of the Sthāṇu-tīrtha, his son Pṛthu succeeded in getting him freed from the effects of sin. Then Vena eulogized Śiva in a long passage.

Though Viṣṇu, Brahman and Śiva have separate identity, a belief is current from the early times that basically they are one. Such a notion is found in the Vedānta Sūtra, Nārāyaṇa, Brahman and Viṣṇu being identified there.¹¹⁰ An epic passage¹¹¹ refers to a similar idea when it says —

yug-ādaṁ tava vārṣṇeya nābhi-padmaḥ=ajāyata ।

Brahmā carācara-gurur=yasy=edaṁ sakalaṁ jagat ॥

lalāṭāj=jātavāñ=chambhuḥ Śūlapāṇis=trilocanaḥ ।

itthaṁ tāv=api dev-eśau tvac=charīra-samudbhavau ॥

Thus according to the Mahābhārata, Brahman took his birth from the navel-lotus of Viṣṇu and Śiva from his forehead.

The Purāṇic legend is almost the same, with a slight modification. In the Vāmana Purāṇa,¹¹² Viṣṇu told the gods that Śaṅkara resides in his body united with him.¹¹³ He also showed the gods the liṅga of Śaṅkara lying on the lotus of his heart.¹¹⁴ In the Purāṇa, there is a description of the united body of Hari and Hara. It has three eyes, ear-rings of snakes and lotuses, matted locks of Śaṅkara, Garuḍa and Bull, breast decorated with a necklace and a snake, waist covered with yellow robes and deer-skin, hands bearing discus, sword, plough, the Śaraṅga bow, Pināka, spear, the khaṭvāṅga, a skull, a ball and a resonant.¹¹⁵

In the Mahābhārata there is a passage in which Hari requests Mahādeva to make his śrīvatsa the mark of the trident of Hara and the śrikanṭha of Hara the mark upon the hand of Hari.¹¹⁶ This epic tradition is perhaps the origin of the purāṇic legend of the exchange of weapons between Hari and Hara. The legend¹¹⁷ runs as follows.

The demon-king Jālodbhava satisfied Brahman with his severe austerities. Brahman granted him the boon that gods and demons would not be able to defeat him in battle and that the gods could not kill him with their own weapons, and even curses of the Brāhmaṇa sages would fail to destroy him so that he would remain unconquered in water and fire. Then the demon created disturbance in religious performances and also other troubles to the gods, sages and kings. With a view to protecting the world, Hari and Hara exchanged their respective weapons. Hara took the Cakra of Hari and the latter the trident of the former. They chased after Jalodbhava, but the demon came to know their intention and entered the water of a

river. Hari and Hara hid themselves in a forest. The demon thought that the gods had gone away and came out of the water. The gods availed themselves of the chance and killed the demon.

The legend is associated with the river Madhunandini or Madhumat (v.l. Madhumati)¹¹⁸ on the bank of which Prahlāda met Hara holding a discus and Govinda holding a spear.¹¹⁹

(iv) Indra

In the Ṛgveda Indra was the supreme deity and about one-fourth of the total number of the Ṛgvedic hymns are devoted to him.¹²⁰ He was recognised as an anthropomorphic god.¹²¹ He is known as Hari.¹²² His arms hold the thunderbolt,¹²³ which he was provided with by the gods according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.¹²⁴ He is called Mahendra¹²⁵ and is represented as friendly with Viṣṇu.¹²⁶ Indra's wife is mentioned in the Ṛgveda,¹²⁷ Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa¹²⁸ and Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.¹²⁹ Pischel thinks that Śaci¹³⁰ is the proper name of Indra's wife in the Vedic literature.¹³¹ Indra shattered Vṛtra with his bolt.¹³² He also slew the dragon hidden in the waters and obstructing the waters of the sky.¹³³ Those who offer libations are favourite to him.¹³⁴ He is the bestower of wealth.¹³⁵ He is frequently called maghavan, 'bountiful', in the Vedic literature.¹³⁶ He is always victorious over the Dāsas and Dasyus.¹³⁷

In the epico-Purāṇic literature, Indra is regarded as the lord of heaven; but his position is subordinate to Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva.

According to the Vāmana Purāṇa, Indra lost the three worlds to the victorious king Bali¹³⁸ and it was with the help of his father Kaśyapa, mother Aditi,¹³⁹ Brahman and Viṣṇu that he got back his kingdom. Viṣṇu in the form of Vāmana went to Bali's Aśvamedha sacrifice at Kuru-

kṣetra, deprived Bali of the three worlds, sent him to Pātāla and conferred the worlds upon Indra.¹⁴⁰

The cunning nature of Indra is exposed in the Purāṇa. It is for his cunning that he is compared with a snake.¹⁴¹ The legend associated with Namuci¹⁴² and Vṛtra¹⁴³ and the filling of the Sannihita lake¹⁴⁴ with dust so that human beings cannot easily achieve salvation may be cited here. His very name Gotrabhit,¹⁴⁵ meant shatterer of the family proves how cunning he is.¹⁴⁶ His fighting with Kārttikeya may be noted in this connection.¹⁴⁷

In the Purāṇas, Indra is represented also as a war-god. The Gaṇas prayed the valour of Indra.¹⁴⁸ He is the possessor of thunder-bolt which he offered to Kātyāyanī at the time of her fight with the demons.¹⁴⁹ He defeated the forces of the demon.¹⁵⁰ He fought against demons like Pākaśāsana,¹⁵¹ Raktabīja,¹⁵² Andhaka,¹⁵³ etc. although in every case he was not victorious.

In the Purāṇas, Indra is called Hari,¹⁵⁴ sometimes Harihaya.¹⁵⁵ Śacī is his consort.¹⁵⁶ He is called Maghavat,¹⁵⁷ Purandara,¹⁵⁸ Mahendra,¹⁵⁹ Vāsava.¹⁶⁰ He is associated with Urvaśī who was born from the thigh of Viṣṇu and was presented to Indra.¹⁶¹ His carrier is the white-coloured powerful, speedy and beautiful elephant born of the palm of Rūdra.¹⁶² Indra is very fond of offering oblations to the pitṛs. Once he offered oblations at Pṛthūdaka in Kurukṣetra. The pitṛs were so pleased that they gave their daughter Menā to the gods who gave her in marriage to the Himālaya.¹⁶³

(v) Agni

The prevalence of the worship of Agni in Kurukṣetra is indicated by the fact that the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice is mentioned frequently in connection with this region. It is said that Agni lived in the mouth of the Vāmana form assumed by Viṣṇu during the sacrifice of Bali.¹⁶⁴

(vi) The Sun-god

When Vāmana adopted his original form at Bali's sacrifice at Kurukṣetra, Pūṣan, the sun-god, and Tvaṣṭṛ were seen as his eye-brows.¹⁶⁵ It is further said that when Vāmana took his stride over the earth, the moon and sun remained near his waist; when he strode the sky, they remained near thighs and when he was taking the final stride, they were near the lower part of the knee of Viṣṇu and were ready to protect the gods.¹⁶⁶ In this legend, the position of the sun and moon gods in relation to Viṣṇu is indicated. They are further said to be the protectors of the gods (deva-pālana-karmaṇi). The sun-god Pūṣan is visible in the Kāmyaka-vana.¹⁶⁷ Sunday is associated with this god who is also known as Bhāsvat, son of Kaśyapa and father of Manu.¹⁶⁸ The Vāmana Purāṇa also says that Savitr, the sun-god, originated from the Great Egg and dried up the water issuing from the Egg that stood in the vicinity of the Sannihita lake in Kurukṣetra.¹⁶⁹

(vii-viii) Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa

The origin of Kārttikeya,¹⁷⁰ the god of war, is associated with the Kṛttikās, Kuṭilā, Pārvatī, Śaṅkara, Agni and the thicket of reeds. He is called Kārttika as the son of the Kṛttikās, Kumāra as the son of Kuṭilā, Skanda as the son of Pārvatī, Guha as the son of Śaṅkara, Mahāsena as the son of Agni and Sāradvata as one born of the thicket of reeds.¹⁷¹ There is numismatic evidence that in the early centuries of the Christian era the different forms of Kārttikeya, such as Viśākha, Kumāra, Mahāsena, Skanda, etc. were conceived as independent gods.¹⁷² Kārttikeya was installed as the commander-in-chief of the gods in their fight with the Asuras on the bank of the Sarasvatī in Kurukṣetra.¹⁷³ Some of the pilgrim spots of the area are associated with him.¹⁷⁴

Gaṇeśa, also known as Vināyaka for his birth from Umā without a husband (nāyaka),¹⁷⁵ is the lord of the dangers and difficulties.¹⁷⁶ But his role has little importance in Kurukṣetra as represented in the Purāṇa.

(ix-x) Umā and Lakṣmī

Among the goddesses, Umā and Lakṣmī are closely associated with Kurukṣetra. Umā¹⁷⁷ is the consort of Śiva who sported with his beloved at the Vihāra-tīrtha.¹⁷⁸ She is associated with the Durgā-tīrtha¹⁷⁹ and the Kalasī-tīrtha.¹⁸⁰ She is known as Kātyāyanī, Bhadrā, Nidrā, Māyā, Sanātānī,¹⁸¹ Bhavānī, Parameśvarī,¹⁸² Pārvaṭī¹⁸³ and Ambikā.¹⁸⁴

Lakṣmī is the consort of Viṣṇu.¹⁸⁵ She is said to be one of the four female energies¹⁸⁶ created by Viṣṇu.¹⁸⁷ She is the third, yellow in complexion and garments and seated on a golden chariot. She represents the tama quality.¹⁸⁸ She is glorified by the Vaiśyas,¹⁸⁹ possibly because she was taken to be the goddess of fortune, wealth, trade and commerce. The second female energy, red in colour and seated on the red horse and possessing the raja quality¹⁹⁰ is called Jayaśrī and worshipped by the Kṣatriyas.¹⁹¹ She is devoted to valour and entered the realm of Bali for his heroic deed of defeating the lord of the gods.¹⁹² But in the same work Jayaśrī is identified with Lakṣmī.¹⁹³ Lakṣmī is said to be worshipful, holding a lotus in hand, and she is the most charming of all gods and goddesses.¹⁹⁴

2. Vratas

In the religious life of the people, depicted in the Purāṇas, the importance of vratas¹ as a religious institution is fully recognised. These were religious performances. In the vratas, emphasis is laid not on the scriptures, but

on bhakti for the respective gods and goddesses. From the economic point of view, it provides the Brāhmaṇas or the priestly class with a living. Thus Brāhmaṇas encouraged vratas in which they had the privilege of officiating and enjoying the gifts offered to the gods. The dakṣiṇā they received at the end of the vratas was not a negligible source of income.²

In connection with Kurukṣetra and its neighbouring regions, the Vāmana Purāṇa mentions several vratas, viz., Aśūnyaśayana-dvitiyā, Akṣayāṣṭamī, Akhaṇḍa-dvādaśī, Tap-takṣchra which was originally a prāyaścitta, Śravaṇa-dvādaśī, Viṣṇu-vrata and Nakṣatrapuruṣa.

(i) Aśūnyaśayanadvitiyā

The Aśūnyaśayanadvitiyā-vrata,³ which is also called the Cāturmāsya-vrata⁴ considering the period of observation of the vow, is performed with the object of achieving a happy and long household life.⁵ The associated deities are catur-bhuja Nārāyaṇa, Lakṣmī and Prajāpati Viśvakarman. The vrata is performed on the second day of the four months starting from Śrāvaṇa.⁶ It continues for two days. On the first day the images of the Śrīvatsa-marked four-armed Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmī are placed on a couch and then worshipped with sandal paste, flowers and fruits.⁷ Then the performer prays to the deities for a long and happy householder's life.⁸ When the performance is over, the performer takes food without oil and salt in the night.⁹ On the second day, fruits as well as the images of the deities together with the bed are offered to the Brāhmaṇas.¹⁰ The Agni Purāṇa also mentions this vrata with some modifications. According to this Purāṇa, the vrata continues throughout the year.¹¹ Moreover, it is associated with Soma, the brother of Lakṣmī, and offering is also made to him.¹² The nature of the Aśūnyaśayanadvitiyā-vrata is further modified in the Matsya Purāṇa.

The cows, land, gold, etc., are included in the list of gifts.¹³ Dancing and music, vocal as well as instrumental, are said to be performed to please the god.¹⁴ The merit of the vow is that it protects offsprings, domestic animals and wealth.¹⁵

(ii) Akṣayāṣṭamī

According to the Purāṇa, Rohiṇī, who was associated with the Soma-tīrtha in Kurukṣetra,¹⁶ performed the Akṣayāṣṭamī-vrata in accordance with the Vedic custom (ved-okta-vidhinā) and achieved the boon from the god concerned.¹⁷

Akṣayāṣṭamī¹⁸ (v.1. Kālāṣṭamī) is performed on the eighth day of the dark fortnight in every month of the year commencing from Bhādra.¹⁹ The associated deities are mentioned as Virūpākṣa,²⁰ Hiraṇyākṣa,²¹ Sthāṇu,²² Śarva,²³ Tryambaka,²⁴ Umāpati,²⁵ Rudra,²⁶ Nātyeśvara,²⁷ Kālāghna,²⁸ the injurer of the eyes of Bhaga, the uprooter of the teeth of Pūṣan,²⁹ the destroyer of the sacrifice of Dakṣa³⁰ and Gaṅgādhara³¹ respectively. The flowers approved for worship in this vrata are the white Dhattūra, Karavīra, Bhadrā flowers, Tagara, Kadamba, Kundā, Mandara, Mango-blossoms, Arka and Śrīphala. The persons engaged in the vrata should bathe in pañca-gavya water, i.e., water mixed with cow's urine, milk, clarified butter, etc.) sprinkled with the Kuśagrass and containing Udumbara, fragrant water and water containing myrobalan fruits, Bela flower and Bhṛṅgarāja respectively.

The vrata continues for two days. The performer fasts on the Aṣṭamī and, worshipping the deity, praying to him and offering gifts to the Brāhmaṇas, follow on the next day. Among the objects of gift (dakṣiṇā), gold (hiraṇyam),³² silver (rajatam),³³ red rice (rakta-śālī),³⁴ pieces of cloth (vāso-yugam),³⁵ deer-skin (mṛg-ājina),³⁶ sacred thread (upavīta),³⁷ shoes and umbrella (upānadyu-galaṁ chatram),³⁸ white bull (śveta-vṛṣabha), brown cow

(kapilā), red cloth (rakta-vasana),³⁹ etc. are important. The naivedya would contain honey, rice cooked with milk,⁴⁰ cake,⁴¹ tila,⁴² etc.

The year-long performance of the Kālāṣṭamī-vrata is divided into two parts, viz., from Bhādra to Māgha, and from Phālguna to Śrāvaṇa. At the end of the first part the image of the god is bathed with guḍa mixed with goracana. The object of the first part is to remove all the sufferings.⁴³ After the performance (pāraṇa) of the second part, all desires become fulfilled.⁴⁴

(iii) Akhaṇḍadvādaśī

It is said in the Purāṇa that final beatitude may be achieved by performing the vrata on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight in the month of Jyaiṣṭha and then bathing in the Viṣṇupada lake in Kurukṣetra and worshipping Viṣṇu.⁴⁵ This vrata is called Akhaṇḍadvādaśī.⁴⁶ The reason is explained in the Agni Purāṇa. The performer of the vrata prays to Viṣṇu that the vratas performed by him in different births become one united whole (akhaṇḍa) by his grace.⁴⁷ This vrata is performed every month. Among the objects of offering are butter, sesame, rice, barley, gold, silver, gems, pearls, corals, clothes, etc.⁴⁸ The purpose for which this vrata is performed is abundance of everything in the house,⁴⁹ attainment of inexhaustive dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa,⁵⁰ absence of disturbance,⁵¹ long life, health, good fortune and kingdom.⁵²

(iv) Taptakṛcchra-vrata

The Taptakṛcchra-vrata is performed on special occasions for the purification of one's body. On the advice of Viṣṇu, the gods observed this vrata when they lost their power of viewing Śiva.⁵³ In this, 150 jars of curds, clarified

butter and pañcagavya, honey and water are required to bathe the image of Śaṅkara.⁵⁴ The performer lives on hot water for the first three days, hot milk for the second three days, hot clarified butter for the next three days and air only for the last three days.⁵⁵ After the performance of this vrata the gods were able to see Śaṅkara at first lying in the heart of Viṣṇu⁵⁶ and then in Kurukṣetra.⁵⁷

(v) Śravaṇadvādaśī

The vrata called Śravaṇadvādaśī continues for two days. On the Ekādaśī, the performer of the vrata observes fast and then bathes in the river and offers clothes, an umbrella, a pair of shoes, sweet curds and boiled rice to a pious Brāhmaṇa.⁵⁸ He gets in return food, shelter and vehicle in the next life.⁵⁹ This vrata was performed by Somaśarman, son of Bahulā of the city of Śākala,⁶⁰ in the old days at the confluence of the Irāvati and Nadvālā.⁶¹

According to the Agni Purāṇa,⁶² this vrata is performed on the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Bhādra. Fasting is observed on the Dvādaśī and pāraṇa on the Trayodaśī, even though generally the thirteenth tithi is thought to be inauspicious for any religious performance. Before the performance, the person makes the following promise (saṅkalpa) —

... .. Vāmanaṁ pūjayāmy = aham ||
udakumbhe svarṇa-mayaṁ trayodaśyān = tu pāraṇam |
āvāhayāmy = aham Viṣṇuṁ Vāmanaṁ śaṅkha-cakriṇam ||
sita-vastra-yuga-cchane ghaṭe sac-chatra-pāduke |
snāpayāmi jalaiḥ śuddhair = Viṣṇuṁ pañc-āmṛt-ādibhiḥ ||⁶³

The vrata is performed with the object of attaining salvation, fame, wealth, progeny, etc.⁶⁴ A special feature is a bath at the confluence after its performance.⁶⁵

(vi) Viṣṇu-vrata

The procedure of the Viṣṇu-vrata varies in different sources. Its procedure of performance may be classified

into five types,⁶⁶ viz., (a) worship of the Viṣṇu image drawn on a lotus,⁶⁷ (b) fast on the Dvādaśī tithi throughout the year and offering of cow and calf and gold,⁶⁸ (c) performance of four days from the Dvitiyā in every month for securing desired objects,⁶⁹ (d) performance in four months beginning from Āṣāḍha and donation of cows and food to Brāhmaṇas on the full moon day of Kārttika,⁷⁰ (e) worship of several groups of the four forms of Hari for twelve years.⁷¹

The verse on the Viṣṇu-vrata in the Vāmana Purāṇa runs as follows —

yaś=c=cha tvad-vane sthitvā tri-rātram vai kariṣyati |
sarve kāmāḥ samṛdhyante manasā yān=ihecchati ||⁷²

Thus the vrata is performed in Viṣṇu's honour for three successive nights in the forest (Aditi-vana) of Kurukṣetra with the object of fulfilment of all desires. A special feature of the vrata is that the performer has to feed five, three, two or at least one Brāhmaṇa.⁷³ Aditi performed penance here and her desire of making her son Indra the master of the three worlds was fulfilled.⁷⁴ The time of performance of the Viṣṇu-vrata is not mentioned here. Moreover, the duration of the vow continuing for three days makes it different from the five types mentioned above.

(vii) Nakṣatrapuruṣa-vrata

The Nakṣatrapuruṣa⁷⁵ is the best of all the vratas.⁷⁶ The deity associated with it is Nakṣatrapuruṣa, i.e., Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu is so called, because the Nakṣatras exist in his different limbs.⁷⁷ During prominence of a particular star in the sky, the corresponding limb of Viṣṇu is worshipped.⁷⁸ The vrata begins from the month of Caitra and it is performed before the image of Vāsudeva.⁷⁹ A Brāhmaṇa of Śākala being insulted by his handsome wife for his ugliness, performed this vrata to please Viṣṇu, on the bank of Irāvati,

and became beautiful by the grace of the god. Thus he became dear to his wife and their domestic life became peaceful.⁸⁰ Bhṛgu performed this vrata for the destruction of sins,⁸¹ Arundhatī for fame,⁸² Aditi for son,⁸³ Rambhā for beauty, Menakā for sweetness of speech and Purūravas for kingdom⁸⁴ and their respective desires were all fulfilled. Prahlāda performed it and went to Kurukṣetra.⁸⁵ The sins committed by the performer of this vrata and by his parents in seven births are destroyed.⁸⁶ A feature of this vrata is the offering of food,⁸⁷ cold water,⁸⁸ cow's milk,⁸⁹ cakes,⁹⁰ dry balls of sugar and ginger,⁹¹ garments, umbrella, a pair of shoes, white clothes, gold, ghee, etc.⁹²

According to the Matsya Purāṇa, the prayer of the performer of the Nakṣatrapuruṣa-vrata runs as follows —
 yathā na Lakṣmyā śayanam tava śūnyam Janārdana |
 śayyā mam = āpy = aśūny = āstu Kṛṣṇa janmani janmani ||⁹³
 It is further said in the same Purāṇa that golden idols of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī and their beds should be offered to a Brāhmaṇa whose wife is still alive.⁹⁴ The prayer for an unbreakable conjugal life and gift of idols of the god and goddess remind us of the Aśūnya-śayana-vrata. It seems that either these two vratas are closely associated or there is a mistake in the Matsya Purāṇa.

REFERENCES

- 1 R̥gveda, I. 71.5 ; X. 61. 5-6.
- 2 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, II. 1.2.9 ; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, III. 33-34.
- 3 Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, II. 1.
- 4 See Sircar, Śāk., p. 5.
- 5 Vmn., Sm. 28.3-21 and 37.

- 6 Ṛgveda, X. 81.3.
- 7 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, II. 4.4 ; VI. 2.3.
- 8 Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, III. 4.
- 9 Vmn., 2.23 — pañca-vadanah.
- 10 Ibid., Sm. 28.20.
- 11 Ibid., 31.26 ; 66.11.
- 12 Ibid., 31.12.
- 13 Ibid., 34.24.
- 14 Ibid., 66.5.
- 15 Ibid., Sm. 22.35 — aṇḍa-madhye samutpanno Brahmā-loka-pitāmahaḥ ||
- 16 Ibid., Sm. 28.3.
- 17 Ibid., 55.15 — dadarśa Śambhum Brahmāṇam dev-eśam ca prajā-patim ||
- 18 Ibid., 32.6.
- 19 Ibid., Sm. 10.55.
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- 21 Macdonell, op.cit., p. 37. For Viṣṇu, see Sircar, Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India, pp. 1 ff.
- 22 Ṛgveda, I. 155.4.
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- 24 Macdonell, op.cit., p. 38.
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- 26 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, I. 2.5 ; Taittirīya Saṁhitā, II. 1.3 ; Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa ; I. 6.1.
- 27 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, I. 9.3.
- 28 Taittirīya Saṁhitā, II. 1.3.
- 29 Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, I. 1.
- 30 Ibid., I. 30.
- 31 Vmn., 67. 73 — parapadmanābham śaṅkh-ābja-cakra-vara-cāpa-gad-āsi-hastam ! See also ibid., 67.5, 10, 12, 40, 48, etc.
- 32 See Ch. 63 and 67.40.
- 33 Ibid., Sm. 10.4.
- 34 See Macdonell, op.cit., p. 41.

160 Kurukṣetra in the Vāmana Purāṇa

- 35 Vmn., 1.1.
 36 Ibid., 66. 10ff.
 37 Ibid., Sm. 15. 64-65.
 38 Ibid., Sm. 15.66.
 38a Ibid., 52. 44-45.
 39 Ibid., 10. 21.
 40 Ibid., 58. 83.
 41 Ibid., Sm. 10. 48-60.
 42 See H. C. Raychaudhuri, Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect, p. 7.
 43 R. G. Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious System, p. 45.
 44 Raychaudhuri, op.cit., p. 9.
 45 Vmn. Sm. 6.1, 7 ff.
 46 Ibid., Sm. 8. 44-48.
 47 Ibid., Sm. 22.29 —
 apo nārā vai tanava ity = evain nāma śuśrumaḥ |
 tāsu śete sa yasmāc = ca tena Nārāyaṇaḥ smṛtaḥ ||
 For the meaning of the term Nārāyaṇa, also see
 Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, 4.43, and R. G. Bhandarkar,
 op.cit., pp. 42-43.
 48 Vmn., Sm. 4.21.
 49 Ibid., Sm. 9.10.
 50 Ibid., Sm. 21.21.
 51 V. S. Agrawala, India as Known to Pāṇini, pp. 359-60.
 52 N. Y. Desai, Ancient Indian Society, Religion and Mythology as Depicted in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Baroda, 1968, p. 175.
 53 Vmn., 16.50 ; 22.22.
 54 Vmn., 4. 53.
 55 R. G. Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems, pp. 47-49.
 56 Only three entire hymns of the Ṛgveda (I, 114 ; II, 33 ; VII. 46) are dedicated to Rudra apart from the other two in which he is mentioned casually

(I. 43 ; X. 125 ; see also V. 42). Also see Macdonell,

op.cit., p. 74.

57 Ṛgveda, II. 33.

58 Atharvaveda, XI. 2 ; Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, XVI. 7.

59 Atharvaveda, XI. 2.

60 Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, XVI. 7.

61 Atharvaveda, II. 27.

62 Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, XVI. 7.

63 Ṛgveda, II. 33. 3.

64 Ibid., II. 33.14 ; V. 42 ; X. 125. 6. Also see Atharvaveda, I. 28 and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, IX. 1.1 for the weapons.

65 Rudra is said to be the father of the Maruts (Ṛgveda, I. 114 ; II. 33).

66 Ambikā is Rudra's sister in the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā (III. 5), but wife in the post-Vedic literature.

67 Rudra is identified with Agni in the Ṛgveda (II. 1.6) ; Atharvaveda (VII. 87), Taittirīya Saṁhitā (V. 4.3 ; V. 5.7) and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (VI. 1.3).

68 In the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā (XVI. 18.28), these names are assigned to Rudra ; but in the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (IV. 20), they are said to be the sons of Rudra.

69 Ṛgveda, VII. 59.12 ; Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, III. 58 ; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, II. 6.2.

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71 Ṛgveda, II. 33.9.

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73 Tāṇḍya Mahā Brāhmaṇa (Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa), VI. 9.7.

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75 Ibid., V. 51.13 ; I. 114. 2 and 8-11.

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77 Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, XVI. 20.1.

78 Macdonell, op.cit., p. 76.

160 Kurukṣetra in the Vāmana Purāṇa

- 35 Vmn., 1.1.
 36 Ibid., 66. 10ff.
 37 Ibid., Sm. 15. 64-65.
 38 Ibid., Sm. 15.66.
 38a Ibid., 52. 44-45.
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 48 Vmn., Sm. 4.21.
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57 Ṛgveda, II. 33.

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- 84 Ibid., III. Ch. 41.
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- 87 Ibid., 11.5 ; 27.21 and 28.
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- 92 Ibid., 40.46 ; Sm. 22.48 ; Sm. 23.5.
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- 96 Ibid., 22.3 ; Sm. 17.15.
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- 98 Ibid., 26.36 ; 56.11.
- 99 Ibid., 57.24 ; 26.58 ; 32.12 ; 44.27.
- 100 Ibid., 17.59.
- 101 Ibid., 17.41 ; 39.121 ; 40.60 ; 44.59.
- 102 Ibid., 40.51.
- 103 Ibid., 17.43 ; 56.11.
- 104 For the legend, see our section on the Satpa-sārasvata-tīrtha above. Cf. Vmn., Sm. 17. 1 ff. and 36. 1 ff.
- 105 Vmn., Sm. 17.17-18.
- 106 For the legend, see Vmn., Sm. 22 and Sm. 23. Also see our section on the Sthāṇu-tīrtha above ; Kūrma Purāṇa, II. 37. 53-39. 80 ; Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, I. 27. 1-129 ; Śiva Purāṇa, IV. 12. 4-54 ; Skanda Purāṇa, III.

26. 1-27.161 ; VI. 1.2-72 ; 258.9-29 ; VII. 187.15-46 ;
39.1-66. Dāruvana is the same as Devadāru-vaṡa
where liṡga-worship was first established. It was
situated on the Ganges near Kedāra in Garwal (see
Dey, op.cit., p. 54).

107 Vmn., Sm. 23.2.

108 Ibid., Sm. 23. 23 —.

tato Brahmā ciraṡ dhyātṡā jñātṡā devaṡ Maheśvaram |
hasti-rūpeṡa tiṡṡhantaṡ munibhir = manasaṡ stutam ||
The association of Śiva with elephants is found also
in the Śvetāśvatra Upaniṡad (V. 14) in which it is
said that the happy one (Śiva) creates the elephants.
See SBE, Vol. XV, p. 259.

109 For the legend see Vmn., Sm. 26.1 — Sm. 27.35. See
also our section on the Sthāṡu-tīrtha above.

110 SBE, Vol. IIL, pp. 522 and 667.

111 Mbh., Gītā Press ed., III. 12.38 and 40 ; see also Mbh.,
III. 13. 34 note.

112 For the unity of Hari and Hara, see also Kūrma
Purāṡa, II. 4. 1-34, and Skanda Purāṡa, VI. 247. 8-16 ;
VII. 9.143-148.

113 Vmn., 36.20.

114 Ibid., 36.23.

115 Ibid., 36.29-30.

116 Muir, OST, IV, p. 241.

117 Vmn., 55. 19-30.

118 Ibid., 55. 16-17.

119 Ibid., 55. 17 —.

Madhumat-salile snātṡā devaṡ cakradharaṡ Haram |
Śūla-bāhuṡ ca Govindaṡ dadarśa danu-puṡḡgavaḡ ||

120 Macdonell, op.cit., p. 54.

121 For his belly, body, hand and head see Rḡveda, II,
16.2.

122 Ibid., X. ch. 96.

123 Ibid., VI. 20.9.

124 Aitareya Brāhmaṡa, IV. 1.

- 125 Ṛgveda, VI. 20.9.
- 126 Ibid., VI. 20.2.
- 127 Ibid., X. 86.9 ; I. 82.5 ; III. 53.6.
- 128 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIV. 2.1.
- 129 Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, III. 22.
- 130 Vājasaneyi Samhitā, II. 52.
- 131 See Macdonell, op.cit., p. 57.
- 132 Ṛgveda, I. Chs. 32 and 61 ; X. ch. 89. The epithet
Vṛtrahan is applied to Indra about 70 times in the
Ṛgveda. See Macdonell, op.cit., p. 60.
- 133 Ṛgveda, II. Ch. 11 ; IV. Ch. 19 ; III. Ch. 26.
- 134 Ibid., X. 42.5.
- 135 Ibid., II. 19. 22 ; VII. 27.5.
- 136 Macdonell, op.cit., p. 63.
- 137 Ṛgveda, I. 129.11 ; II. 20. 7-8.
- 138 Vmn., Sm. 3.2 ; 49.6.
- 139 Ibid., Sm. 7.7.
- 140 Ibid., Sm. 10.65 ; 1.1.
- 141 Ibid., 45.26.
- 142 Ibid., 32.96 ; 29. 2ff.
- 143 Ibid., 32.99.
- 144 Ibid., Sm. 24.10-11.
- 145 Ibid., 45.42 ; 32.108.
- 146 For the legend, see ibid., 45.18ff.
- 147 Ibid., 32.98ff. Also see Mbh., III. 225. 21ff.
- 148 Vmn., 43.162.
- 149 Ibid., 19.15.
- 150 Ibid., 45.16.
- 151 Ibid., 45.15.
- 152 Ibid., 18.70.
- 153 Ibid., 10.8ff.
- 154 Ibid., 29.3 ; 13.145.
- 155 Ibid., 34.39.
- 156 Ibid., 27.10.
- 157 Ibid., 33.42.
- 158 Ibid., 45.15.

- 159 Ibid., 10.37.
 160 Ibid., 7.18.
 161 Ibid., 7.17-19.
 162 Ibid., 9.15.
 163 Ibid., 24.8-10.
 164 Ibid., Sm. 10.55.
 165 Ibid., Sm. 10.54 — Tvaṣṭā Pūṣā ca vai bhruvau.
 166 Ibid., Sm. 10.63-64.
 167 Ibid., Sm. 20.33-34 ; also see our section on the Kām-
 yaka-vana above.
 168 Ibid., Sm. 26.4 —
 Kaśyapād = abhavat Vāsvāms =
 tasmān = Manur = ajāyata ||
 169 Ibid., Sm. 22.32-34.
 170 Ibid., Ch. 31.
 171 Ibid., 31.43-46.
 172 Cf. The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 461. See also D.
 R. Bhandarkar, Ancient Indian Numismatics, Re-
 printed in JAIH, Vol. IV, pp. 422-23.
 173 Vmn., 31. 51 —
 tad = uttiṣṭha vrajāmo = 'dya
 tīrtham = Aujasam = avyayam |
 Kurukṣetre Sarasvatyām =
 abhisiñcāma ṣaṇ-mukham ||
 174 See our section on the Aujasa-tīrtha above.
 175 Vmn., 28. 71-72 —
 nāyakena vinā devi tava bhūto = 'pi putrakah ||
 yasmāj = jātas = tato nāmnā bhaviṣyati Vināyakah |
 For the legend of Gaṇeśa's birth, see ibid., Ch. 28.
 176 Ibid., 42.3.
 177 She first occurs in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka and Kena
 Upaniṣad, see Macdonell, op.cit., p. 74. She appears
 also on the coins of Huviṣka, see The Age of Impe-
 rial Unity, p. 467.
 178 Vmn., Sm. 21. 13 —.
 Bhavasya Umayā sārddham vihāre kṛditaṁ mahat |

- 125 Ṛgveda, VI. 20.9.
- 126 Ibid., VI. 20.2.
- 127 Ibid., X. 86.9 ; I. 82.5 ; III. 53.6.
- 128 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIV. 2.1.
- 129 Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, III. 22.
- 130 Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, II. 52.
- 131 See Macdonell, op.cit., p. 57.
- 132 Ṛgveda, I. Chs. 32 and 61 ; X. ch. 89. The epithet
Vṛtrahan is applied to Indra about 70 times in the
Ṛgveda. See Macdonell, op.cit., p. 60.
- 133 Ṛgveda, II. Ch. 11 ; IV. Ch. 19 ; III. Ch. 26.
- 134 Ibid., X. 42.5.
- 135 Ibid., II. 19. 22 ; VII. 27.5.
- 136 Macdonell, op.cit., p. 63.
- 137 Ṛgveda, I. 129.11 ; II. 20. 7-8.
- 138 Vmn., Sm. 3.2 ; 49.6.
- 139 Ibid., Sm. 7.7.
- 140 Ibid., Sm. 10.65 ; 1.1.
- 141 Ibid., 45.26.
- 142 Ibid., 32.96 ; 29. 2ff.
- 143 Ibid., 32.99.
- 144 Ibid., Sm. 24.10-11.
- 145 Ibid., 45.42 ; 32.108.
- 146 For the legend, see ibid., 45.18ff.
- 147 Ibid., 32.98ff. Also see Mbh., III. 225. 21ff.
- 148 Vmn., 43.162.
- 149 Ibid., 19.15.
- 150 Ibid., 45.16.
- 151 Ibid., 45.15.
- 152 Ibid., 18.70.
- 153 Ibid., 10.8ff.
- 154 Ibid., 29.3 ; 13.145.
- 155 Ibid., 34.39.
- 156 Ibid., 27.10.
- 157 Ibid., 33.42.
- 158 Ibid., 45.15.

- 159 Ibid., 10.37.
- 160 Ibid., 7.18.
- 161 Ibid., 7.17-19.
- 162 Ibid., 9.15.
- 163 Ibid., 24.8-10.
- 164 Ibid., Sm. 10.55.
- 165 Ibid., Sm. 10.54 — Tvaṣṭā Pūṣā ca vai bhruvau.
- 166 Ibid., Sm. 10.63-64.
- 167 Ibid., Sm. 20.33-34 ; also see our section on the Kām-yaka-vana above.
- 168 Ibid., Sm. 26.4 —
Kaśyapād = abhavat Vāsvāms =
tasmān = Manur = ajāyata ||
- 169 Ibid., Sm. 22.32-34.
- 170 Ibid., Ch. 31.
- 171 Ibid., 31.43-46.
- 172 Cf. The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 461. See also D. R. Bhandarkar, Ancient Indian Numismatics, Reprinted in JAIH, Vol. IV, pp. 422-23.
- 173 Vmn., 31. 51 —
tad = uttiṣṭha vrajāmo = 'dya
tīrtham = Aujaśam = avyayam |
Kurukṣetre Sarasvatyām =
abhisiñcāma ṣaṇ-mukham ||
- 174 See our section on the Aujaśa-tīrtha above.
- 175 Vmn., 28. 71-72 —
nāyakena vinā devi tava bhūto = 'pi putrakah ||
yaśmāj = jātas = tato nāmnā bhaviṣyati Vināyakah |
For the legend of Gaṇeśa's birth, see ibid., Ch. 28.
- 176 Ibid., 42.3.
- 177 She first occurs in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka and Kena Upaniṣad, see Macdonell, op.cit., p. 74. She appears also on the coins of Huviṣka, see The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 467.
- 178 Vmn., Sm. 21. 13 —
Bhavasya Umayā sārddham vihāre kṛḍitaṁ mahat |

- 179 Ibid., Sm. 21. 15-16. Also see our section on the Durgā-tīrtha above.
- 180 Ibid., Sm. 15. 19.
- 181 Ibid., Sm. 15. 18 —.
Kalasyām tu tato gacchet yatra devīsvayaṁ sthitā |
Durgā Kātyāyanī Bhadrā Nidrā Māyā Sanātani ||
- 182 Ibid., Sm. 23. 27-28.
- 183 Ibid., 22. 6 and 8. Also see Macdonell, op.cit., p. 74.
- 184 Vmn., 9. 18 ; 21. 21 ; also see Macdonell, loc.cit.
- 185 Vmn., Sm. 1.4 ; 27.9.
- 186 The four goddesses are the following :
(i) White coloured Sarasvatī on a white elephant, worshipped by the Brāhmaṇas.
(ii) Red coloured Jayaśrī on a red horse, worshipped by the Kṣatriyas.
(iii) Yellow coloured Lakṣmī on a yellow chariot, worshipped by the Vaiśyas.
(iv) Blue coloured Priyadevī on a blue bull, worshipped by the Śūdras.
See Vmn., 49. 17 ff. Śrī as the goddess of beauty and fortune appears for the first time in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (11.4.3.1). She was probably not originally associated with Viṣṇu. See The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 470.
- 187 Vmn., 49. 17ff.
- 188 Ibid., 49. 19-20.
- 189 Ibid., 49. 28-29.
- 190 Ibid., 49. 19-20.
- 191 Ibid., 49. 27-28.
- 192 Ibid., 49. 40-48.
- 193 Ibid., Sm. 2.13 ff. In the epics (Mbh., III, 38.25; Rāmāyaṇa, III. 46.16) Śrī (Jayaśrī) and Lakṣmī are invoked together.
- 194 Vmn., Sm. 2.13 ; Sm. 2.18 —
Sarva-deva-manoramā.

2. Vratas

- 1 Vrata occurs in the R̥gveda, as well as in the literature of later ages. The origin and meaning of the term is a matter of controversy. For different views, see Whitney in JAOS, Vol. XI, pp. 29-31 ; V. M. Apte in Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, Vol. III, pp. 407-48 ; St. Petersburg Dictionary, and P. V. Kane's History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. V, Part I, pp. 1-462 and also his article in JBBRAS, Vol. XXIX, pp. 1-28. It is usually understood to mean a religious performance observed on some particular day or days under some restriction on food and behaviour.
- 2 R. C. Hazra, Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, pp. 253-54.
- 3 Vmn., 16.21-23 ; 17. 19-29. In the Baṅgabāsi ed. (15.22) dvitīyā is replaced by dvādaśī probably by mistake. For this vrata, also see Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, I. 145.6-20 ; III. 132.1-12 ; Agni Purāṇa, 177.3-12 ; Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, I. 20.4-28 ; Padma Purāṇa, V. 24.1-19.
- 4 Vmn., 17.26.
- 5 Ibid., 17.23 —
gārhashtya-nāśo mama n=āstu deva.
- 6 Ibid., 17.22.
- 7 Ibid., 17. 20-21.
- 8 Ibid., 17. 22-23 —
yathā hi Lakṣmyā na viyujyase tvaṁ
tri-vikram = ānantajagan-nivāsa |
tathā = 'stv = aśūnyaṁ śayanaṁ sad = aiva
asmākam = ev = eha tava prasādāt ||
yathā tv = aśūnyaṁ tava deva talpaṁ
samaṁ hi Lakṣmyā varad = ācyut-eśa |
satyena ten = āmita-vīrya Viṣṇo
gārhashtya-nāśo mama n = āstu deva ||
- 9 Ibid., 17. 24.

- 10 Ibid., 17.25 and 28.
- 11 Agni Purāṇa, 177. 8 —
Lakṣmīm Viṣṇum yajed = abdam
dadyāc = chayyām phalāni ca ।
- 12 Ibid., 177. 9 —
Rām-ānuja namo = 'stu te.
- 13 Matsya Purāṇa, 71. 3 —
go-bhū-hiraṇya-dān-ādi.
- 14 Ibid., 71. 9.
- 15 Ibid., 71. 18 —
na putra-paśu-ratnāni kṣayam yānti pitāmaha ।
- 16 See our section on the Soma-tīrtha above.
- 17 Vmn., 16. 25 —
puṇyāyām = Akṣay-āṣṭamyām Ved-okta-vidhināsvayam ।
tuṣṭena Śambhunā dattam varam c = āsyai yadṛcchayā ॥
- 18 Ibid., 17.30-64. For the Aṣṭamī-vrata, see also Agni-
Purāṇa, Chs. 183-84.
- 19 On that very day Śiva sleeps in all the liṅgas. Cf.
Vmn., 17.31 —
tasyām sarveṣu liṅgeṣu tithau svapiti Śaṅkaraḥ ।
Following a different ed. Lakṣmīdhara quoted the
verse as follows — tasyām pur = aika-liṅgeṣu (v. l. sarv-
aika liṅgeṣu) tithau svapiti Śaṅkaraḥ ;
and added a note which runs thus —
'eka-liṅgam' vṛṣabha-gaṇa-pati-rahitāni (v. l. sahitāni)
paścim-ābhimukhāni prasiddhāni ॥
See Lakṣmīdhara, Kṛtyakalpataru, Vol. VI, p. 258.
- 20 Vmn., 17.33 — priyatām me Virūpākṣa.
- 21 Ibid., 17.35 — priyatām me Hiraṇyākṣa.
- 22 Ibid., 17.37 — priyatām bhagavān sthāṇu.
- 23 Ibid., 17.39 — namas = tu priyatām Śarva.
- 24 Ibid., 17.41 — namas = te dev-eśa Tryambak = eti.
- 25 Ibid., 17.43 —
priyatām me mahādeva Umāpatir = it = irayet.
- 26 Ibid., 17.48.

- 27 Ibid., 17.51 —
 Nāṭy-eśvara (v. 1. Nāgeśvara) namas = te = 'stu.
- 28 Ibid., 17.53.
- 29 Ibid., 17.57.
- 30 Ibid., 17.59 —
 nams = te Dakṣayajñaghna.
- 31 Ibid., 17.62 —
 Gaṅgādhar = eti japtavyam.
- 32 Ibid., 17.33 and 62.
- 33 Ibid., 17.37.
- 34 Ibid., 17.39.
- 35 Ibid., 17.48.
- 36 Ibid., 17.50.
- 37 Ibid., 17.54.
- 38 Ibid., 17.56.
- 39 Ibid., 17.62.
- 40 Ibid., 17.37.
- 41 Ibid., 17.40.
- 42 Ibid., 17.45.
- 43 Ibid., 17. 44-45 —
 evam = eva samuddiṣṭam ṣaḍbhir = māsaḥ = tu pāraṇam |
 pāraṇ-ānte trinetrasya snapanam kārayet kramāt ||
 gorocanāyāḥ sahitaḥ guḍena
 devaṁ samālambhya ca pūjayet |
 prīyasva dīno = 'smi bhavantam = īśa
 mac = choka-nāśam prakuruṣva योग्यम् ||
- 44 Ibid., 17.63.
- 45 Vmn., Sm. 10.84. Also see our section on the Viṣṇu-
 pada lake above. The offering is made to Viṣṇu
 called Nārāyaṇa (ibid., 18.17), Keśava (ibid., 18.18)
 and Padmanābha (ibid., 18.20).
- 46 Ibid., 16.26 ; 18. 11-25.
- 47 Agni Purāṇa, 190. 3 —
 sapta-janmāni yat kiñcin =
 mayā khaṇḍam vrataṁ kṛtam |
 bhagavaṁs = tvat-prasādena
 tad = akhaṇḍam = ih = āstu me ||

Also see *ibid.*, 190.4. Compare *Vmn.*, 18.11.

tasyāṁ saṁpūjayet Viṣṇuṁ tena khaṇḍo = 'sya pūryate' ||
Lakṣmīdhara quoted the verse from a different ed. of
the *Vmn.* as follows —

tasyāṁ samyag = yajet = Viṣṇuṁ

yena Khaṇḍaṁ prapūryate ;

and added the following note to it —

'yena khaṇḍaṁ prapūryata' iti, yena Viṣṇu-pūjanena
khaṇḍam = asaṁpūrṇaṁ dharm-ādibhiḥ paripūrṇaṁ |

(v. l. dharm-ādi paripūrṇaṁ) bhavat = īty = arthaḥ ||

See *Kṛtyakalpataru*, Vol. VI, p. 346.

48 *Vmn.*, 18.13-14 and 19.

49 *Ibid.*, 18.15 —

pūram = akhaṇḍaṁ bhavate gṛhe.

50 *Ibid.*, 18.21 —

dharm = ārtha-kāma-mokṣāṇi

tv = akhaṇḍāni bhavantu me ||

Also see *ibid.*, 18. 24.

51 *Ibid.*, 16.26 ; 18. 16.

52 *Agni Purāṇa*, 190.6.

53 *Vmn.*, 36. 8-9.

54 *Ibid.*, 36. 10-11.

55 *Ibid.*, 36. 16.

56 *Ibid.*, 36. 23.

57 *Ibid.*, 36. 32-33.

58 *Ibid.*, 53. 50-54.

59 *Ibid.*, 53. 58-60.

60 *Ibid.*, 53. 43.

61 *Ibid.*, 53. 51.

62 *Ch.* 189.

63 *Agni Purāṇa*, 189. 3-5.

64 *Ibid.*, 189. 7 —

bhukti-mukti-prajā-kīrti-sarv-aīśvarya-yutaṁ kuru |

65 *Ibid.*, 189. 11 —

snātvā ca saṅgame.

- 66 For the classification, see P. V. Kane, History of
Dharmaśāstra, Vol. V, Part I, p. 414.
- 67 Hemādri, Vratākāṇḍa Caturvargacintāmaṇi, Vol. I, 1177.
- 68 Ibid., Vol. I, 1202.
- 69 Agni Purāṇa, 177. 15-20 ; Hemādri, op.cit., Vol. II,
458-60.
- 70 Matsya Purāṇa, 101. 37 —.
Āṣādh-ādi catur-māsam prātaḥ-snāyī bhaven=naraḥ |
vipreṣu bhojanam dadyāt kārṭṭikyām go-prado bhavet |
sa vaiṣṇavam padam yāti Viṣṇu-vratam=idam śubham ||
- 71 Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, III. 151. 1-8.
- 72 Vmn., Sm. 7.4.
- 73 Ibid., Sm. 7.6. See our section on the Aditi-vana above.
- 74 Ibid., Ch. Sm. 7.
- 75 Ibid., 53. 81-54, 39 ; Agni Purāṇa, 196. 1-23 ; Bhaviṣya
Purāṇa, 4.108, 17-42 ; Mbh., XIII. 110. 1-10.
- 76 Vmn., 54. 30 —.
Nakṣatrapuruṣ-ākhyam hi vratānām=uttamam vratam |
- 77 Ibid., 54. 2-9.
- 78 Ibid., 54. 11-26.
- 79 Matsya Purāṇa, 54. 8.
- 80 Ibid., 53. 78-82.
- 81 Ibid., 54. 30.
- 82 Ibid., 54. 35.
- 83 Ibid., 54. 36. Yuvanāśva performed it and got Mān-
dhātṛ as his son. See Agni Purāṇa, 196.22.
- 84 Vmn., 54. 37.
- 85 Ibid., 55. 2.
- 86 Ibid., 54. 32.
- 87 Ibid., 54. 11-12.
- 88 Ibid., 54. 13.
- 89 Ibid., 54. 14 —.
dohade ca payo gavyam deyam ca dvija-bhojanam ||
- 90 Ibid., 54. 22.
- 91 Ibid., 54. 26 —.
dohade ca guḍ-ādrakam.

92 Ibid., 54. 27-28.

93 Matsya Purāṇa, 54. 26.

94 Ibid., 54. 24.

sa-Lakṣmīkaṁ sa-bhāryyāya

kāñcanaṁ puruṣ-ottamam ।

śayyāñ=ca dadyān = mantreṇa

granthi-bheda-vivarjitām ॥

Chapter IX

SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIFE

It is difficult to reconstruct the socio-economic history of Kurukṣetra with the help of the data offered by the Vāmana Purāṇa alone. In spite of this limitation, we may draw some tentative conclusions.

We have seen that according to the Vāmana Purāṇa, at Brahmayoni, a pilgrim-spot in Pṛthūdaka, Brahman created four castes — the Brāhmaṇa from his mouth, Kṣatriya from his arms, Vaiśya from thighs and Śūdra from his feet.¹ The Brāhmaṇas are associated with the Vedas, the Kṣatriyas with conquering the earth, the Vaiśyas with wealth and prosperity and the Śūdras with happiness.² A section of the Brāhmaṇas, who were the Vedic priests, were skilled in the recitation of the Ṛgvedic and Sāmavedic verses, their krama and pada. They also specialized in different branches of knowledge.³

As regards people's belief about the Asuras, the legend of Vāmana and Bali shows that though the demon-king Bali, having an accurate knowledge of the Brāhmaṇical religion and order of life, was celebrated for his knowledge of the Brahman,⁴ and the four orders of the Brāhmaṇical ways of life,⁵ the Asuras were regarded as the enemies of the gods⁶ and Bali became a captive for making the Dānavas the enjoyers of the shares of oblations in sacrifices, which the gods were entitled to enjoy.⁷ Regarding the demons' mode of gift, Śrāddha, sacrifice and study, as approved by the Brāhmaṇical order, the Vāmana Purāṇa has given a brief account. They make gifts, not approved by law, perform the funeral ceremony without any approval of the Vedas, perform sacrifices and ceremonies without faith, dakṣiṇā, Darbha grass and clarified butter and with-

out any approval of the scriptures, and study without performing the ceremony of initiation.⁸

The traditional Indian system of dividing the life of the individual into four stages, viz., Brahmācārya, Gārhaṣṭha, Vānaprastha and Sannyāsa, is reflected in the Vāmana Purāṇa. The life of the individual started from the performance of the saṁskāra of Jātakarman. At the birth of the Vāmana incarnation of Viṣṇu from Aditi's womb, Brahman, the grandfather of the world, performed the Jātakarman and the rites associated with it.⁹ Reference is made to the saṁskāras of Jātakarman and Cūḍākaraṇa of the Kṣatriya prince Kuru.¹⁰

The next important saṁskāra is Upanayana. After attaining a particular age Vāmana asked Bharadvāja, the descendant of Bṛhaspati, to act as a purohita in his (Vāmana's) Upanayana ceremony.¹¹ A special feature of this ceremony is that gifts are offered to the brahmācārin, probably those which he needs during his student life. The sacred thread, white garments, yellow and silken cloth, deer-skin, girdle, staff of Palāśa wood, rosary of beads, broom made of Kuśa grass, umbrella, shoes, water jar — these things are offered to Vāmana at the time of his Upanayana.¹² The subjects of study of the Brāhmaṇa students were the Vedas, particularly the Sāmaveda together with its branch called Gandharvaveda, i.e., Gandharva-vidyā.¹³ The śāstras, the Sāṅkhya and yoga systems and also Praṇava and accents were included in the subjects of study.¹⁴

That the age of Upanayana of a Kṣatriya is nine and the duration of his student life is roughly ten years is known from the case of Kuru. It is said in the Purāṇa that the sacred thread ceremony of Kuru was performed when he was nine years old and thus he became skilled in the rituals according to the Vedas and śāstras.¹⁵ It is further said that he acquired all round knowledge in ten years.¹⁶

In connection with the Sarasvatī and the Śālagrāma-tīrtha,¹⁷ there is a story narrated in the Purāṇa in which there is mention of a Brāhmaṇa student who used to collect fruits to offer to his guru.¹⁸ It was one of the duties of the students in ancient India to serve the preceptor in various ways. In course of his conversation with a Rākṣasa,¹⁹ the Brāhmaṇa said that he could not do anything against the interest of his teacher or which created obstruction to his way of life or was against his own vrata.²⁰ The teacher was the most respected person who was considered by the students to be above their parents.²¹

When student life came to an end, an option was offered to the student to select the next stage of his life.²² He might enter the second, third or fourth āśrama or might serve his teacher throughout his life. In the absence of the teacher, he might live with the latter's son or any of the latter's worthy disciples, but never with the daughter of his teacher.²³

The duty of the householder is to marry, work according to his profession with the object of earning wealth and perform sadācāra with the help of this wealth.²⁴ As said by the Brāhmaṇa of Śākala, everybody should utter the Viṣṇu-stotra thrice a day, i.e., in the morning just after getting up from the bed, at noon and in the evening, for the removal of sins committed by him.²⁵ The acts which were considered to be the most sinful are to enjoy other's wife or wealth, tormenting others, blame the honest people and kill others. One may get rid of these sins by regularly praying to Viṣṇu.²⁶ In the religious performances at the house, the wife had a definite role. For the welfare of the demon king, his wife Vin-dhyāvalī herself lighted the lamp in the temple of Viṣṇu, while well-versed Bhāhmaṇas recited the sacred texts and king Bali participated in the religious performances.²⁷

As regards the Vānaprasthāśrama, there is one instance in the Purāṇa in connection with Kurukṣetra.

That is the retirement of Vena's father to the forest.²⁸ There he performed austerities as a result of which he achieved final beatitude.²⁹

The last saṁskāra in the life of a man is śrāddha. It is the duty of the son to perform the funeral ceremony of the deceased ancestors to make them free from sufferings of the next life.³⁰ The theory of rebirth and karma-phala had a strong hold on the people's mind. For his wickedness and impious attitude, king Vena is stated to have taken birth among the Mlecchas and fell a victim to consumption and leprosy.³¹

In the Vāmana Purāṇa there is an interesting story of a merchant of Śākala. The story which is narrated in Chapter 53³² may be summed up as follows:

In the city of Śākala in Madra-deśa, there was a rich and educated trader named Sudharman who belonged to the mercantile community.³³ Once he started for Surāṣṭra with a great following and a large collection of commodities.³⁴ In the desert (maru-bhūmau) he was robbed of all his possessions by the dacoits. The helpless merchant roamed about and was taking rest under a Śamī tree. There he met a leader of the ghosts surrounded by his followers. The ghost came to know from the merchant what happened to him. In his astonishment the merchant saw that an earthen pot filled with curds and boiled rice and another with water were brought before them by some invisible hands. Then the merchant and the leader of the ghosts performed their daily religious duties with food and water. After that the ghost offered curds and rice to the merchant,³⁵ then fed his followers and at last took his own share. Then the jars vanished. The merchant was astonished and requested the ghost to explain the matter. The ghost narrated his past history as follows:

In one of his previous births the leader of the ghosts was a Brāhmaṇa of the city of Śākala, Somaśarman by

name. His neighbour Somaśravas was a vaiśya (merchant) of great wealth. Somaśarman, though wealthy, was a miser and evil-minded. Once he took food with curds, milk and ghee and as a result of his greed, was attacked with cholera. So he had to take meals of sour gruel, oil cakes of sesame, groats of barley and vegetables. He observed the Śrāvaṇadvādaśī-vrata with the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and others of the city at the confluence of Irāvati and Nadvalā. He then donated water, cloth, umbrella, shoes, sweet curds and boiled rice to an honest Brāhmaṇa. For this act, he got food after his death according to his desire, the Śamī tree as a shelter and a ghost as a vehicle.³⁶

The portion of the story, following immediately, is rather irrelevant as it is associated with the Gayā-tīrtha. But the last part serves our purpose. In one of his births, the ghost was born in a Kṣatriya family and adopted the profession of a Kṣatriya, offered gifts and conquered the enemies.³⁷ In the following birth he became a Brāhmaṇa and married a very beautiful lady, who being proud of her beauty and being devoid of duty, insulted her husband for his ugly appearance. Then the poor husband performed the Nakṣatrapuraṣa-vrata and became as beautiful as Cupid.

We gather some information from the story regarding the socio-economic life of ancient Punjab. In the list of food stuff curds, rice, milk and ghee for ordinary people, sour gruel, oil cakes of sesamum, groats of barley-meal and vegetables for the sick are included. The householders used to perform daily religious ceremonies. Occasionally they, irrespective of their castes, gathered at the pilgrim spots to perform religious performances and vratas. It was the duty of the head of the family to offer food at first to the guests, then to the other members of the family and to take his own meal at last. Offering

That is the retirement of Vena's father to the forest.²⁸ There he performed austerities as a result of which he achieved final beatitude.²⁹

The last saṃskāra in the life of a man is śrāddha. It is the duty of the son to perform the funeral ceremony of the deceased ancestors to make them free from sufferings of the next life.³⁰ The theory of rebirth and karma-phala had a strong hold on the people's mind. For his wickedness and impious attitude, king Vena is stated to have taken birth among the Mlecchas and fell a victim to consumption and leprosy.³¹

In the Vāmana Purāṇa there is an interesting story of a merchant of Śākala. The story which is narrated in Chapter 53³² may be summed up as follows:

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gifts and fighting were regarded as the duties of the Kṣatriya community.

There were many trade-centres, one of which was Śākala. Trade and commerce was a lucrative profession. Punjab had close commercial contact with Surāṣṭra in Gujarat. The want of safety on roads known from various sources including Kālidāsa and Fa-hien, was an obstacle to trade and commerce.^{37a} There was little protection for the merchants in the deserts and forests.

The four types of female energies³⁸ are associated with four castes, viz., Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras and their respective treasures—Mahāpadma-nidhi, i.e., gems of highest value, Padma-nidhi, i.e., gold, silver, copper, etc., Mahānīla-nidhi, i.e., cattle, wealth, cloth, grains, agriculture, forest products, etc., and Śaṅkha-nidhi, i.e., riches earned by theft and illegal transactions and kept hidden. The four nidhis give us some idea about the economic status of the four social groups.

The existence of a large number of pilgrim-spots, most of which were situated on the bank of some river, did much for the development of local markets and regional trade.

When Vena was killed by the sages for his wickedness, there was a blinding dust caused by the thieves and robbers running in every direction despoiling the kingdom.³⁹ On the occasion of his coronation, king Pṛthu came to know that throughout his realm there was scarcity of food.⁴⁰ When Pṛthu chased the earth thinking that she caused suffering to his subjects, she told him that the cause of the scarcity of food was its misuse by impious persons who had not undertaken any religious vows.⁴¹ A similar idea of socio-economic crisis in Kurukṣetra and the neighbouring regions is found in the Bṛhatsamhitā of Varāhamihira. If an eclipse should occur in the lunar month of Śrāvaṇa, the people of Kurukṣetra would suffer and perish.⁴² It is said that Saturn presides over the

country where the Sarasvatī disappears and over the inhabitants of Thanesar.⁴³ Regarding the death of the king and the consequent disorder in Kurukṣetra, there is a passage in the Bṛhatsamhitā which runs as follows—
Citrāsu Kurukṣetr-ādhipasya maraṇam samādiṣettajjñāḥ⁴⁴
When the injurious Ketu eclipses or touches the star Citrā, there occurs the death of the king of Kurukṣetra.

REFERENCES

- 1 Vmn., Sm. 18. 21-23.
- 2 Ibid., Sm. 10. 91 —
Brāhmaṇo vedam = āpnoti
Kṣatriyo jayate mahīm ।
Vaiśyo dhana-samṛddhim ca
Śūdraḥ sukham = avāpnuyāt ।
Vāmanasya ca mātātmyam
śṛṇvan pāpaiḥ pramucyate ॥
- 3 Vmn., Sm. 3. 19-24.
- 4 Ibid., Sm. 2. 21 —
Balinā Brahma-vādinā.
- 5 Ibid., Sm. 2. 11.
sva-dharma-sam-prayukteṣu tath = āśrama-nivāsiṣu ॥
- 6 Ibid., Sm. 10.9.
- 7 Ibid., Sm. 10, 14, and 12 —
yajña-bhāga-bhujo devā veda-prāmāṇyato = 'sura ।
tvayā tu dānavā daitya yajña-bhāga-bhujāḥ kṛtāḥ ॥
- 8 Ibid., Sm. 10.78-80 —
dān-ānya-vidhi-dattāni śrāddh-ānya-śrottriyaṇi ca ।
hat-ānya-śraddhayā yāni tāni dāsyanti te phalam ॥
a-dakṣiṇās = tathā yajñāḥ kriyāś = c = āvidhinā kṛtāḥ ।
phalāni tava dāsyanti a-dhīt-ānya-vratāni ca ॥
udakena vinā pūjā vinā darbheṇa yā kriyā ।
ājyena ca vinā homam phalam dāsyanti te Bale ॥
See also ibid., 65. 57.

- 9 Ibid., Sm. 9.17 —
 taṁ jāta-mātraṁ bhagavān Brahmā loka-pitāmahaḥ,
 jāta-karm-ādikāṁ kṛtvā kriyāṁ tuṣṭāva ca prabhum ॥
- 10 Ibid., 23. 1-2.
- 11 Ibid., 62. 42 —
 provāca bhagavān mahyaṁ kur=ūpanayanaṁ vibho ॥
- 12 Ibid., Sm. 9. 36-37 ; 62. 45-47.
- 13 Ibid., 62. 48-50.
- 14 Ibid., Sm. 9. 38.
- 15 Ibid., 23. 2 —
 nav-ābdikasya vrata-bandhanaṁ ca
 vede ca śāstre vidhi-pārago='bhūt ॥
- 16 Ibid., 23.3 —
 tataś=catuḥ-ṣaḍbhir=ap=iha varṣaiḥ
 sarvajñatām=abhyagamat toto='sau ।
- 17 Ibid., 59. 60ff. and 117.
- 18 Ibid., 59. 40 and 45.
- 19 The story of the Rākṣasa and the Brāhmaṇa student reminds us of the legend of Bhīma and Nahuṣa in the form of a snake. See Mbh., III. Ch. 179.
- 20 Vmn., 59. 49 —
 gurer=yan=na vīrodhāya
 yan=na dharmoparodhakam ।
 tat kariṣyāmy=ahaṁ rakṣo
 yan=na vrata-haraṁ mama ॥
- 21 Ibid., 59. 58 —
 na mātaraṁ na pitaraṁ gauraveṇa yathā gurum ।
- 22 The spirit of freedom of selection of any of the āśramas after the completion of student life is found in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, I. 2. 2-5. But the Smṛtis are strict on this point. See Manusmṛti, VI. 35 and 37.
- 23 Vmn., 14. 8-9.
- 24 Ibid., 14. 11-12.
- 25 Ibid., 59. 65. For the Viṣṇu-stotra, see ibid., 59.66ff.

- 26 Ibid., 59. 96-97. For the morning prayer, also see
ibid., 14.23-27. For the sins, see ibid., 29.10 and Sm.
14.3-8.
- 27 Ibid., 68. 59 —
dīpa-pradānaṁ svayam=āyat-ākṣī
Vindhyāvalī Viṣṇu-gr̥he cakāra ।
geyaṁ sa dharmya-śravaṇaṁ ca dhīmān
paurāṇikair=vipra-varair=akārayat ॥
- 28 Ibid., Sm. 26. 7.
- 29 Ibid., Sm. 26. 8.
- 30 Ibid., Sm. 26. 31.
- 31 Ibid., Sm. 26. 29.
- 32 Ibid., Sm. 53. 12-83.
- 33 Ibid., 53. 13 — vipaṇi-vṛttisthaḥ.
- 34 Ibid., 53. 14 —
sa tv=ekadā nijāt rāṣṭrāt Surāṣṭraṁ gantum=udyataḥ ।
sārthena mahatā yukto nānā-vipaṇa-panyavān ॥
- 35 Ibid., 53. 35.
- 36 Ibid., 53. 59.
- 37 Ibid., 53. 77.
- 37a Cf. Kālidāsa, Mālavikāgnimitra, ed. Sane and God-
bole, Act. V, p. 1112 ; Legge, Fa-hsien's Records of
Buddhistic Kingdoms, p. 97.
- 38 See our section on Religious Life above.
- 39 Viṣṇu Purāṇa, I. 13.30-32. Also see Vmn., Sm. 26.17-18.
- 40 Bhāgavata Purāṇa, IV. 17. 9-10 —
yad=ābhiṣiktaḥ Pṛthur=aṅga viprair=
āmantrito janatāyās=ca pālāḥ ।
prajā niranne kṣiti-prṣṭha etya
kṣut-kṣāma-dehāḥ patim=abhyavocan ॥
vayaṁ rājan jāṭharen=ābhitaṭṭā
yath=āgninā koṭarasthena vṛkṣāḥ ।
tvām=adya yātāḥ śaraṇaṁ śaraṇyaṁ
yaḥ sādhitō vṛtti-karaḥ patir=naḥ ॥

41 Ibid., IV. 18. 6-7.

42 Bṛhatsaṁhitā, V. 78.

43 Ibid., XVI. 31-32.

44 Ibid., XI. 57.

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- 43 Ibid., XVI. 31-32.
- 44 Ibid., XI. 57.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Addenda :

Add just after REFERENCES (p. 158) —

'1. Gods and Goddesses'

Corrigenda :

Page	Line	Note	For	Read
13	3		Sūdras	Śūdras
20		50	Śudr...	Śūdr...
27	33		Urani	Urnai
28	19		Kurukṣetra,	Kurukṣetra:
29	32		af	of
35	last line		ows	flows
42		56	I. 18.	I. 18.... ..
66	15		Viṣṇu-ssthāna	Viṣṇu-ssthāna
72	2		samg	same
78	23		Lckoddhāra	Lokoddhāra
95	25		Auśansa-tīrtha ²⁰¹	Auśanasa-tīrtha ²⁰¹
139		354	Cokaṇṇaṁ	Gokaṇṇaṁ
143	12		Kamal-āsana	Kamal-āsana
143	14		egg	Egg
148	15		discuss	discus
161		70	Vāiasaneyi	Vājasaneyi
163		108	Śvetāśvatra	Śvetāśvatara

OUR OTHER MONUMENTAL WORKS **THE VISHNU PURANA**

A SYSTEM OF HINDU MYTHOLOGY & TRADITION

HORACE HAYMAN WILSON

Born on 26th September, 1786, Wilson received his early education in Soho Sqr. School in London. On qualifying himself for medical profession, he was appointed Assistant Surgeon in E. I. Company's service in 1808. He arrived in Calcutta in the same year and got an appointment in the Assay Dept. of the Calcutta Mint where in 1810 he acted as an Assistant to Dr. Leyden, the Assay Master, shortly after, he produced a book on Numismatics. He acquired knowledge of Sanskrit from Colebrook and translated the *Meghaduta* of Kalidas in 1813. As Secretary to the A. B. (1811-1833), he went to Banaras, deputed by the Govt. of India in 1819, reorganised the Sanskrit College and collected materials for *The Theatre of the Hindus* (1871), and *Sanskrit English Dictionary* (two editions, 1872-74); contributed papers to the Journals of the Asiatic, Medical and Physical Societies and other Oriental Journals. He edited with introductory notes the texts, of the *Dasa Kumara Charita* (1846) and the *Mahabharata* (partially). He also translated *Rig-Veda Samhita* (4 vols. 1850), (5 vols. 1854-88), first edited by Bal-lantyne and Goldstucker and then by Cowell, who was Wilson's pupil. Among his other works are: *The general Principles of Sanskrit Grammar* (1853), *Vishnu Purāna* (1840), A 2nd Ed. in 6 Vols. Ed. by Dr. F. Hall, (1888), *The Religions of the Hindus* (1862), *Ariana*, dealing with coins and antiquities of Afganistan (1841), *Essays, Analytical, Critical and Philosophical on subject of Sanskrit Literature*—2 vols. (1864-65). *The Megh Duta* (1843), *The Sankhya Karika of Isvara Krishna* (1817), *Mill's History of British India* (1844), *A Glossory of Indian Terms* (1846), *The Travel in the Himalayan Province of Hindustan and the Punjab, in Ladak, Kashmir, Pesawar, Kabul, Kandahar and Bokhara*, 2 vols. In collaboration with Moorcroft and Trebeck. Wilson prepared the book for press from Journals and original Correspondence, (1837), *Kathasaritsagara* (under the title of "Hindu History of Kashmir" in the "Asiatic Researches", (1825), *A Historical Account of Burmese War* (1851) and the *Catalogue of Colin Mackenzie's MSS* (1853), Dr. Ross published 3 big volumes of his Essays, while his complete works were were published in 12 Demy Vols. by Trubner. He also was a co-adjutor to James Prinsep in Oriental research. Calcutta, 1972, Reprint, Bulky volume.